OCTOBER, 1935

THE CRISIS

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(United States Minister to Liberia—See page 293)

NEGROES AND TVA

By John P. Davis

U. S. DEPT. OF (WHITE) JUSTICE

By Walter White

The Choice of A Nation

The World's Greatest Weekly --- The World's Greatest Fighter

Chicago Defender

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ETHIOPIAN CONFLICT STIRS WORLD

Two More Lynched in Mississippi

THE
Chicago Defender
WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

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THE CRISIS

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A Record of the Darker Races

ROY WILKINS, Managing Editor
ADVISORY BOARD
J. E. Spingarn *Dr. Louis T. Wright* *James Weldon Johnson* *Lewis Gannett* *Walter White*

Volume 42, No. 10 *Whole Number No. 298*

CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER, 1935

Page

COVER
Honorable Lester A. Walton

PLIGHT OF THE NEGRO IN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY
By John P. Davis 294

SERENA SINGS
A Story by Octavia B. Wynbush 296

HAITIANS PROTEST N.A.A.C.P. RESOLUTION 298

AND SO LUCILLE WENT TO COLLEGE
By Charles Carson 299

EDUCATIONAL INEQUALITY MUST GO!
By Charles H. Houston 300

AN OPEN LETTER TO EARL BROWDER
By George Padmore 302

NAPOLEON III AND PIERRE LAVAL
By Mercer Cook 303

EDITORIALS 305

FROM THE PRESS OF THE NATION 307

IRA ALDRIDGE
By Cyril Bruyn Andrews 308

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF (WHITE) JUSTICE
By Walter White 309

BATTLE RENEWED FOR CIVIL RIGHTS 311

ALONG N.A.A.C.P. BATTLEFRONT 312

BOOK REVIEW 313

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THE COVER

Lester A. Walton, who was named as minister to Liberia by President Roosevelt this summer, sailed from London with his family for Monrovia, Liberia, September 18. He is expected to arrive at his new post September 28. Mr. Walton was born in St. Louis, Mo., and served on the staff of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and the New York *World*. He was also associate editor of the New York *Age*. He is the son-in-law of Fred R. Moore, publisher of the *Age*. Mr. Walton is 52 and has two daughters, who with his wife are accompanying him to Liberia.

NEXT MONTH

Abraham Epstein, authority on social security, will have an article in the November issue on the recently enacted social security bill.

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A section of the November issue will be devoted to children. Pictures and information should be in THE CRISIS office by October 1.

•

There will be an article "War and the Negro" by Harold Preece. There will be also an article "The Bronx Slave Market" by Marvel J. Cooke.

•

Edgar T. Rouzeau contributes a short story "What Money Did." In an early issue Charles H. Houston will continue his discussion of educational inequalities.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

John P. Davis is executive secretary of the Joint Committee on National Recovery, an agency not connected with the U. S. government. Since the National Recovery program was inaugurated in June, 1935, Mr. Davis has been active in all efforts to expand the benefits of the New Deal to Negroes. He has traveled extensively, made a number of surveys, appeared before various government agencies upon matters of housing, wages, working conditions and other topics. His article in this issue on Negroes in the Tennessee valley is his second, the first appearing in THE CRISIS in October, 1934.

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Octavia B. Wynbush lives in Lawrence, Kansas.

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Charles Carson lives in Los Angeles, Calif.

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Charles H. Houston was formerly vice-dean of the Howard university law school and is now special counsel for the N.A.A.C.P. in charge of its legal assault upon educational inequalities.

•

George Padmore is doing free lance writing in Europe. He was formerly editor of the *Negro Worker*, published in Copenhagen, Denmark, and wrote "Ethiopia in World Politics" which appeared in THE CRISIS last spring. He lives in Paris.

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Mercer Cook is a professor of French at Howard university. He has just returned from a year in France.

•

Cyril Bruyn Andrews is completing a study of the life of Ira Aldridge in London.

•

Walter White is secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. and author of numerous magazine articles.

The Plight of the Negro

By John P. Davis

A second look at the TVA development leads Mr. Davis to say of the vaunted low cost electrification program that, for Negroes, it "might as well be lightning in the sky" and of other TVA objectives he has equally interesting things to say

MORE than a quarter of a million Negro citizens live in that section of our nation drained by the Tennessee River. It is in this area that for more than two years a vast social experiment, the Tennessee Valley Authority, has been carried on by the federal government. A year ago Mr. Charles Houston and I gave in THE CRISIS[1] our reactions to this experiment following an extensive visit through the Valley. At that time many aspects of the project were still in an experimental phase. We could only hazard an opinion as to the possible future outcome of the experiment as it affected Negroes. Today it is possible to restate those conclusions upon a basis of many additional facts. This is the purpose of this article. It is a result of experiences gained from two additional trips to the Valley area as well as from a year's attention to the problems which seemed vital to Negroes in the development of the TVA.

Employment Problems

Policies of TVA governing the employment and treatment of Negro workers on the job are of immediate concern to Negro citizens. In March of 1934 Dr. F. W. Reeves, director of personnel, felt it necessary to stress publicly the intention of TVA to employ Negro workers in proportion to their population percentages in the Valley area. This public announcement was a tacit admission that the employment of Negro workers presented a definite problem to TVA officials. There was also the implication that TVA officials intended to meet the problem of employment in a forthright and honest way. To be sure artificial limits to this display of fairness were implicit in the statement itself, since the stilted base of population percentages set as a criterion by Dr. Reeves did not take into consideration the excessive proportions of Negro workmen to be found among the jobless in the Valley. But even this artificial measure offered a promise of some fair dealing to Negro workers. And TVA officials cannot object to being judged by the yardstick which they themselves have established.

A contrast of performance with promise shows that Negroes have never been given their proportionate share of jobs on TVA projects. In addition when payrolls of Negro and white workers are contrasted even greater inequities appear. Thus for the payroll period May 1 to May 16, 1935 the 2,069 Negro employees then employed received only $86,032.80 of the $901,839 total payroll of TVA for the period. This was roughly 9.5 per cent of the payroll as contrasted with 11 per cent of the total number of workers employed. It ought be said that the data given above is based on the estimates of TVA officials themselves and represents what is, perhaps, a much too favorable picture of the actual employment and payroll percentages for Negro workers. But even these data show clearly that Negroes were not employed in proportion to their numbers in the population and that they received even less consideration in the matter of wage payments.

It is in seeking a reason for these inequities that one discovers overt acts of discrimination on the part of TVA officials which nullify their every pretense of impartiality. For the most part skilled work is denied Negro workers. Employment of labor is done through the TVA personnel division. Negro workers are employed by Negro assistant personnel officers under the supervision of white officials. To the Negro assistants only requisitions for unskilled work is given. Thus the assistants cannot offer skilled work to any Negro applicants. Only by currying favor with white bosses, may a Negro worker once on the job hope to rise to a higher level of pay or skilled employment. Such instances are very few. Thus at Wheeler Dam where the largest number of Negroes were employed in June 1935, only eight Negro workmen out of 1,048 then employed received as much as $1.00 an hour. There were 300 white carpenters employed on the job there, but not a single Negro. Only 12 Negroes received as much as 75 cents an hour at Wheeler Dam.

There was an exception to the rule of exclusion of Negroes from skilled work. At Pickwick Landing Dam, Negro artisans were employed temporarily. But they were only allowed to work on the "Jim-Crow" village set aside for Negroes. Now that work on this village is completed they have been dismissed. But at Pickwick as elsewhere it is well understood that Negroes will not be employed at skilled work on the white village or on other jobs which will open up as work on the project progresses.

At Wilson Dam, Negroes are employed primarily in unskilled work at the fertilizer plants at 37½ cents an hour. Only four Negro workers at the fertilizer plant receive as much as 50 cents an hour. The work given the others is hard disagreeable work in furnaces and dust-filled rooms. By reserving such occupations for Negroes, TVA effectively establishes a Negro differential, while at the same time loudly proclaiming: "No discrimination is made between the races with reference to wages paid or hours of work." (Dr. Reeves, March 1934.) What is true of jobs at Wilson Dam is more or less true on other projects of TVA. Negro workmen have also been the victims of mis-classification, doing skilled work while receiving pay as unskilled workers. In one instance two Negro workmen at Wilson Dam were allowed to drive trucks for more than eight months—a job which should have paid 75 cents an hour but for which they were paid at the rate of 45 cents an hour. The men testified they were afraid to complain because the experience of other Negro workers had been that complaints about false classification led to dismissal.

Another evidence that TVA officials have deliberately erected a color bar before most of the skilled work on the dam projects can be seen in the refusal to admit Negroes into the training and vocational schools established in the area

[1] TVA: Lily-White Reconstruction, CRISIS, October 1934.

SOCIAL SECURITY

What is the real meaning of the social security law passed by the last Congress? What does it hold out for people generally and for Negroes in particular? Read Abraham Epstein's article next month in THE CRISIS. Mr. Epstein, executive secretary of the American Association for Social Security, is one of the foremost authorities upon this subject in the United States.

in the Tennessee Valley

by TVA. Thus at Norris seven Negroes were admitted to a class in animal husbandry only after sharp protest. But even now Negroes are excluded from sections of the school dealing with carpentry, metal trades, automobile mechanics and other skilled work. Nowhere in the Valley are Negroes permitted to take training in foremanship, although there are numerous foremanship classes for white workers.

The failure to include a fair proportion of Negroes in skilled work not only places Negroes in an unequal position with white workers but as well makes almost certain the gradual elimination of Negroes from employment by TVA. This is true because unskilled work is only necessary in the early stages of the dam projects, which in their later stages use more and more skilled labor and less and less unskilled workmen. Thus at Norris Dam within the last year Negro employment has dropped from roughly 160 workers to 17. Similarly at Pickwick and Wheeler Dams, where soon only skilled work will remain, Negroes will find increasingly less employment.

Making cement flower urns, Wheeler Dam

Lily-White Housing

The housing accommodations furnished Negro workers by TVA are notoriously inferior to those given whites. At Norris Dam site there are no accommodations for Negroes. For whites there is a model community of 450 modern homes and several dormitories for single white men. At Wilson Dam, Negroes are shunted off into 20 improperly screened three and four room bungalows adjacent to a railroad track. The homes are renovated shacks, many of them having no closet space, no windows in kitchens. There is no improved recreational grounds for the children of the village. By contrast there are two modern white villages with houses of varying sizes, a school and recreational space for children and a model community building. At Wheeler Dam Negroes live in a dormitory too small to accommodate the needs of the Negro workers. Many men are unable to find living quarters and must rely on busses to transport them 10 and 20 miles to and from work. Temporary tents have been constructed for some of the men. In addition there are ten unsubstantial houses of the cheapest kind provided for Negroes. There are no facilities for recreation other than a theatre for whites which Negroes may attend if they use a separate entrance and sit in a "Jim-Crow" section. For whites there is a modern community similar to the model town of Norris. At Pickwick the Negro community is separated from that for the white workers by a deep ravine. Officials of TVA suggested the reason for the separation to be the need for keeping down racial outbreaks which "would be occasioned if Negroes and whites lived together." Yet in order to get to the Negro village from the scene of work operation on the dam, Negroes must pass through a squatter village for whites off the government reservation. This village is the crime center of the community, where brothels, "speakeasies" and gambling joints are plentiful. Here if anywhere the constant passing through of Negroes will result in racial outbreaks. In addition at Pickwick Negroes can attend the white theatre, if they sit in a "Jim-Crow" section. When they apply for work at the personnel office they see the doors to the office plainly marked: "white" and "colored."

Now none of the conditions above described are much different from those of surrounding communities off the government reservation. But the fact that TVA has tacitly adopted a policy of residential segregation for Negroes consistent with the social patterns of the outside communities is one having grave implications for Negro citizens. It must be remembered that every one of these housing units is on land owned by the federal government, that funds for their construction were appropriated by the United States Congress out of the money of all the taxpayers. Thus by the introduction of a policy of residential segregation TVA officials are violating the well established Constitutional prohibition against the use of federal funds for purposes of segregation. We have the tragic picture of officials of the federal government, sworn to uphold the Constitution, teaching white citizens that Negroes are unfit to live in any but segregated communities. And we see this doctrine entering every phase of governmental activity in TVA.

(*Continued on page* 314)

Cortland, Ala., Child Health Clinic

Serena Sings

By Octavia B. Wynbush

"All service ranks the same with God."—Browning.

THE moon, a pendant lamp in the cloudless sky, radiated soft light over the bit of garden in front of Serena Sayer's little cottage. Serena, leaning back in the old hickory rocker under a huge magnolia tree in full bloom, was drunk with the wine of the Louisiana night.

"Lawdy, I sho' could sing this night! I could just throw back my head and hollah! If 'twasn't so late, I *would* sing, but I'm feared I'll wake some o' these early sleepin' plantation hands."

She drew in a deep breath, and with it the fragrance of tea-roses, cape jasmine, magnolias, and wild honey suckle.

"An' them flowers! They don't smell half so sweet by day."

Out of the shadows rose the song of a mocking bird.

"Listen to that bird. He's praisin' his God for this beautiful night, an' why can't I, even if 'tis nigh twelve o'clock? 'Tain't my fault if folks wants to close they eyes early this lovely night."

Her eyes once more caressed the night scene. The grass, blue in the moonlight, lay a rich carpet under her feet, and stretched along the yellow river-road winding past her whitewashed picket fence. At the bend of the road, and completely hidden by a thick grove of beeches, lay the grounds surrounding the "big house," where lived the Marshalls, owners of the plantation on which Serena's little cottage was situated.

Tomorrow morning Serena would walk into the old-fashioned high-raftered kitchen as usual, and send the smell of rich coffee, waffles, eggs, and bacon floating upstairs to the bedrooms of the Marshall family.

Thinking of the family tonight brought a sigh from Serena. Something was wrong. She had sensed it that evening, with Mr. Ned's return from "up No'th." She had felt an unaccustomed restraint in his greeting when he had come into the kitchen before dinner.

Then, after dinner, there had been that quick withdrawal of the family to the library. Mr. Tom had not come into the kitchen for his nightly round of teasing; Miss Jean had not spoken her appreciation of the chocolate cake and vanilla ice cream, especially prepared for her; nor had Miss Alice spoken her usual word of praise concerning the meal.

"Something's wrong!" Serena's muttered comment had its confirmation in the sight which she had surreptitiously witnessed. On departing that night, instead of leaving by the back gate as she always did, she had stolen to the front of the house and, under the protection of Miss Alice's prize rose bushes, had seen the four members of the family in the library.

Mr. Ned, his face wrinkled and drawn like a mummy's, was standing with his back to the old-fashioned fireplace. He looked as if he had added ten years to his fifty. Mr. Tom was sitting in one of the high-backed chairs that had belonged to his great-great-grandfather, looking at Mr. Ned as if he were a ghost, instead of Tom's father. Miss Alice sat on the sofa, her lovely gray hair blending with Miss Jean's brown, they were so close together. The sudden rising of Mr. Tom, and his movement toward the long window, as if he were going to step through it to the porch, brought Serena's spying to an end.

"Something's wrong. Something's mighty wrong." Serena's head wagged solemnly.

Once more the mocking bird's clear notes filled the stillness. Well, morning would tell the tale. Just now it was night, and the night was calling for song.

"Lawdy, I jus' mus' sing!"

Throwing back her head and folding her plump brown hands across her broad stomach, Serena began to sing. One song after another swelled from her deep throat, and floated off down the river-road, to be lost on the river rolling at the foot of the bluff on which the "big house" stood.

IN his bedroom Ned Marshall paced slowly to and fro. His white hair, in greatest disorder, added to the ghastly appearance of his face. His hands were thrust deep into his pockets. His voice was a broken mutter.

"Broke! Ruined! Not a damn cent left. My fault, too. Should've listened to Alice. She's a damned good business man, even if she is my wife."

CHILDREN

A section of the November issue will be given over to pictures of children. These photographs and any articles or verse about children must be in THE CRISIS office not later than October 1.

He walked to the long window opening out on the balcony which ran around the upper story of the house. Stepping out of the window, he looked around. As far as his eyes could see, lay the Marshall holdings. Like a wayfarer who is returning home after years of exile, his eyes dwelt upon each well-known landmark. There was the hibiscus set out by his grandmother's gardener, while the kindly, silvery-haired lady stood watch; the smooth, shrub-and-tree-dotted lawn immediately surrounding the house, and enclosed by a wrought-iron fence forged by slaves in days gone-by; the hitching-post, wrought in the form of a grinning Negro boy holding an iron ring in the hand that protruded from a tattered shirt-sleeve. Outside the fence spread the plantation; sugar cane, cotton, and other green stuff; some of the land, newly ploughed, lay black in the moonlight. And too far away to be seen, lay the cabins and the cottages housing his hands.

It had all been gained and held by thrift and good management. Now, at one stroke it was gone. At least it was as good as gone, for it would take all his land would bring to pay for his gambling on the stock market.

Ned winced. His family—he couldn't blame them, he reckoned, for the stand they were taking. Alice hadn't said a word. That was what had made it so hard. It would have been a damn sight easier if she had even said "I told you so." She had always remonstrated with him for playing the market.

And tonight, after he had broken the news, she had offered him the use of her private fortune. Ned shuddered in the warm night air as he felt again the prickles of shame which had run over him when he had confessed that he had spent her money, too. He couldn't blame Tom for looking him full in the face and then withdrawing to the verandah. And Jean, his favorite of the two, had thrown her arms around her mother, and held her close. Ned had felt horribly alone when at a word from Tom when he re-entered the room, all three had gone upstairs to Alice's sitting room, leaving him without a word. After he had heard her door shut, Ned had gone to his own room to face himself, and fight it out alone.

Now he stood on the balcony, alone and wretched. He felt a sudden irritation creeping over his deeper emotion. Then he became aware of the cause. A voice—the voice of a Negro woman

singing in the distance was disturbing him.

"Damn! Who in hell can sing at a time like this? Why couldn't she choose some other time to howl?"

He forgot the nights on which he and his family had sat in the moonlight and listened appreciatively to the mellow, untamed voices of the plantation workers. But tonight this lone singer angered him. He could choke those notes back into her throat.

Slowly he walked to the railing of the balcony and looked down. Falling from the balcony, a man might break a leg, or possibly paralyze himself, but the distance was not great enough to insure instant death. True, there was always a revolver, but insurance companies had been known to balk at paying widows of suicides. And his insurance would go a long way. His eyes roved absently across the lawn to the yellow river-road.

The river! How easy! To go for a row in Tom's row-boat, anchored in the cove where the river bent away from the road. To overturn accidentally. No one could refuse paying the widow of a man who drowned when a boat upset.

Briskly he stepped back into his room, passed quickly and quietly through the door and down the wide staircase to the hall below. Opening the outside door with great care, he stepped upon the verandah, moved down the stone steps, and started across the lawn. Once more, across the river-road, came the rich voice of the colored singer. Involuntarily, Ned Marshall listened. He recognized the voice, now. It was Serena's:

"Look down, look down, this lonesome road,
Before you travel on.
Look up, look up, and see your Maker,
'fo' Gabriel blows his horn.
True Love, True Love,
What have I done,
That you should treat me so?
You caused me to walk and talk
Like I never done before.
Weary totin' such a load,
Travelin' down that lonesome road.
Look down, look down, that lonesome road,
Before you travel on."

As the golden notes gave place once more to silence, Ned Marshall walked slowly to the edge of the circle of beech trees and stood silently with bowed head in the shadow of their arms.

"IT'S a pretty shabby trick, I call it."

Tom, standing with legs far apart, and hands, thrust deep into his trousers pockets, faced his sister and his mother as they sat by the long window opening on the balcony outside his mother's room.

Alice Marshall was thinking how like his father Tom was, standing almost exactly as the former had stood downstairs those few tragic moments just passed. Instead of shame, however, anger throbbed in every movement and tone of the speaker.

"To take Mother's money, above all things!"

"Don't talk about your father, Tom."

Alice said the conventional thing, but her bearing gave the lie to her words. Yes, she was bitter against her husband. The unnecessary humiliation which he had brought upon his family was enough to make one bitter. Numb as she still was from the shock, she yet had sense enough to realize what was ahead for them—for her two children, especially.

The humiliations of poverty; the loss of social standing, and the withdrawal of their friends would be hard enough for her and Ned, but for Tom and Jean, it meant stark tragedy.

"If he had only listened to you, Mother. But he never does. Grandmother used to say it runs in the Marshall family. Marshall men never listen to their wives. They're all like that."

Tom whirled on his sister. "Not all! I'm one, but I don't hold with the old man's action at all! But gee, that's not the main thing now. The mischief's done. The question is, where do we go from here? How shall we stand in the sight of our friends, if any?"

Jean staring at the floor, sat up and turned eyes full of sudden fright upon her brother.

"Where—do—we—go? Friends—if—any?" She spoke in a dazed fashion. "Why—I hadn't thought of that. You don't suppose our friends will go back on us?"

"But I have thought of it." Alice rose and stood looking at first one and then the other of her children. "The thing that's happened to us is as hard to get adjusted to at once as a sudden death in the family. As long as the body is in the house, we feel it can't be so. Then, suddenly we realize it *is* so, and the whole thing comes down on us, at once."

"But what do you mean?" Jean's eyes were those of a person fighting hard to disbelieve something which he feels he must believe.

"Sis, can't you understand?" Tom was nearly shouting in his exasperation. "We'll have to leave all this—go away—move! Everything's gone—m o n e y, plantation—everything. We—we're just beggars, not even as well off as the darkies who work for us." He gave a short laugh. "It'll soon be 'worked,' instead of 'work,' I reckon."

Walking to the window, he stared out at the night scene. Beyond the clump of beech trees, and across the river-road, lay the unseen quarters of their plantation workers.

"At least they're carefree," continued Tom. They don't have any fortune to lose. Their friends won't turn their backs on them because they don't have a dime in the world."

"How could Father bring this on us?" Jean's voice was a moan.

Alice and Tom looked across her bowed head at each other. Tom's fist clenched. He didn't give a hoot for himself. He could give up the university, his fraternity, and everything and do a man's work. But Jean—just when things were about to be clinched between her and Beauregard LeClerc. They couldn't expect him to propose to a penniless girl, and anyway, Jean wouldn't want his proposal now—would seem too much like charity. And the LeClerc's were snobs, to boot.

"We may as well face facts, children." Alice's voice was decisive. "Your father has lost every thing we called our own. From what he said tonight, our remaining at Marshall Hall is only a matter of days. Jean, it is just as well to realize at once that we cannot and do not expect our friends to be our friends any longer. We do not want them, for all they can do for us is to give their sympathy. The Marshalls and the Whittakers accept no man's sympathy. We fight and win our own battles."

Tom applauded. "Spoken like a man! We'll stick to you, Alice Marshall."

"It was so unfair of Dad. I don't care if I never see him again." Jean's eyes flashed as she spoke.

"It was rotten. But we're not concerned with him, any more. It's we three. He got himself into this mess, and he can get himself out." Tom's voice was like a metal rasp.

Saying nothing, Alice slipped to the balcony. Her children were saying the bitter things which were in her own heart. But she could not sanction them. She looked out over all the dear, dear things which had twined themselves into her life for the twenty-five years she had been Ned Marshall's wife. The sharp pictures in the moonlight became blurred by tears. Dimly, she could see the form of a man standing in the wide sweep of the beech trees. His head was bowed upon his hands. Turning, she called to her children.

"Tom, Jean, come here."

Before the two had taken their places beside her, there broke upon the stillness the voice of Serena Sayer's—Alice recognized it at once—singing triumphantly. When Tom and Jean appeared, they thought that Alice had called them, as she often did, to listen to the singing. So they listened this time, and Alice, laying aside her original purpose for calling them, was silent. On the still-

(*Continued on page* 313)

Haitians Protest N.A.A.C.P. Resolution

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following resolution touching upon Haiti was adopted by delegates attending the twenty-sixth annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at St. Louis, Mo., June 25–30, 1935:

"We regret and condemn the suppression of free speech by the Vincent administration in the Republic of Haiti, and the imprisonment of critics of the Vincent government, among them such distinguished Haitians as Jacques Roumain, poet and patriot."

Port-au-Prince, July 15, 1935

Monsieur W. E. B. DuBois
Former Editor of THE CRISIS
Organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Fifth Avenue, New York

And attention of Mr. Roy Wilkins
Managing Editor

Dear Mr. DuBois:

My attention has been attracted by an attitude of hostility which one would have the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People take, this Association of which, by your personal efforts as well as by your position as editor of the magazine, THE CRISIS, you are one of the principal factors.

Before any explanation whatever, allow me to point out that I should never take the initiative of asking you to modify your judgment if, since 1918, when I met you for the first time, at New York, I haven't had the impression of being face to face with a perfectly honest, perfectly upright man who, like others, is capable of making mistakes sometimes, but who corrects his errors the moment he discovers them . . . So, some one made you, as well as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, commit a grave error in the matter of the evaluation of Mr. Stenio Vincent's Government, and, from my point of view as an Haitian, some one has caused you to commit another great mistake which is itself that of meddling (from a distance it is true) into the internal political affairs of Haiti.

I have said: "Some one has made you commit," because I have been personally given to understand that certain well-intentioned foreign organizations have been for some time the victims of a secret agency of political exploiters from here. These people no longer enjoying any public credit in order to determine the movement of the mass—leaders without followers—they have thought of transforming themselves into benevolent informers of certain organizations or newspapers of the American continent, because by so doing no one at home would see the hands that throw the stones and you over there would appear to be carrying on a generous campaign in the interest of liberty supposedly denied to a small group of kindred people, if you are black, of friendly people, if you are white.

Freedom Not Curtailed

And the trick is turned! . . . Here when your newspapers arrive, they rub their hands, they go into ecstasy; then there are always accomplices and confederates to peddle them around under cover and make the simple minded see what THE CRISIS or *The Nation* has published against the Government . . . But during this time, certain ones among these same men declare themselves the best personal friends of the State Executive, because they are perpetual candidates for diplomatic posts in Europe and in the United States, or for some portfolios in the local government. Thus you run the risk (which you have certainly already done in the past) of knowing that they have stopped off at New York at such a time, en route for the post which has been finally assigned to them, and, their parchment now in their pockets, you will no longer see them coming to Fifth Avenue because they would never know how to explain to you . . . and yet they must retain you among their clientele—for the future!

One does not need to seek far to discover for example the source of that information which enabled you during the course of the 26th annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P. to form your appraisal of Haitian affairs. Here are the honest explanations which I furnish you willingly:

1. It is not true that freedom of speech has been withdrawn from men in politics. The new Constitution says formally in its Article 10: "Every one has the right to express his opinion on all matters.—The abuses of this right "are defined and repressed by the law." If, therefore, no one criticizes the acts of the Government, it is that these acts are not, politically speaking, open to criticism, or that the leaders do not deserve either the title of leaders or their positions, for not having the civic courage to speak 'on all matters" and before the people.

2. The four or five journalists who actually are serving sentence in prison have been condemned by judgment of a tribunal and I would astonish you a great deal if I were to tell you that here no one any longer bothers about the case of these unfortunate young men who went astray in this adventure! . . . Those who write with so much fervor about them to foreign newspapers do not even mention any more their names here. They forget them! . . . So, now they are certainly meditating on the fragility of human affairs and especially on the inconstancy of political men in Haiti.

Sorry for Roumain

As for the case of young Mr. Jacques Roumain, this needs to be understood . . . It is indeed unfortunate that this young man who belongs to the upper middle class of the country and is one of the most brilliant sons of a family generally well thought of by us because of their intellectual attainments as well as their financial means, it is indeed unfortunate that this talented young man has allowed himself to be won over by communistic doctrines. Naturally it is up to him to have his opinions, but to transform these opinions into acts, that's another matter!

And the law regarding the safety of the state has been evoked: Jacques Roumain has been tried and has been condemned! There is not a man with a heart who does not regret the misfortune which has befallen this young man, as I have said above, but no one can do anything to remedy the situation, the safety of the State being law over all parts of the earth.

Now, my dear Mr. DuBois, after this honest and straightforward explanation which I have furnished the N.A.A.C.P. with regard to the policy of Mr. Vincent's Government, I believe I have the right to appeal to your sense of equity and justice to ask you to correct your personal opinion of the local Government and, to facilitate you in this, I am ready to furnish you with all authentic and reliable documents you may desire, just as I appeal to the loyalty and the honor of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to carry on the agenda of its next conference a correction of its last resolution.—In the meantime I am asking the association as I am asking you not to allow the other members of the N.A.A.C.P. and readers of THE CRISIS to remain in ignorance of my letter in which I have pointed out certain errors as well as sounded a note of protest.

Very respectfully yours,

LUC DORSINVILLE,
Professor of History and
Director of the Institute
Guy-Joseph Bonnet.

And So Lucille Went to College

By Charles Carson

WE needed a maid, my wife and I, and when Lucille came to us with good references we saw no reason for not hiring her. Neither of us harbors any special race prejudice, though we did not consider her color. Neither were we influenced by the fact that she had a mother to support or that the soles of her shoes were getting thin. It was simply a matter of our needing a house girl (we never use the term "servant") and Lucille looked as though she would fill the bill as well as anything we had seen. She'd *better* be satisfactory, we thought, for in these days twenty dollars a month is—well, twenty dollars.

The first week proved that our hunch was correct. She knew how to cook and, since we could not afford a regular staff of help, she acted as nurse maid to Junior, swept the carpets, washed the dishes, watered the lawn and kept the peddlers chased away from the door.

One evening I came home and found her reading *The Story of Philosophy*. I wondered where she got the book and how much of it she understood. On another occasion I noticed her perusing a copy of *The Art of Thinking*. Then one Sunday afternoon I found her seated at the piano, playing selections from *Cavalleria Rusticana* in an effort to amuse Junior. That was too much. Even a *man* has *some* curiosity. I wanted to know what it was all about; she told me.

Lucille's parents had left the Louisiana cane brakes when she was five years old. Down there in the swamps they had worked as share-croppers, raising cane and rice for the landowner, who furnished land, horses, plows and food, and took half the crop. Under this plan, not only did they fail to accumulate worldly goods of their own, but usually they were in debt to the landlord, whether due to the system in vogue or the boss's superior knowledge of figures they never knew for certain.

But they had heard of California, a land where there were no swamps, no share-cropping, no mosquitoes nor Simon Legrees.

Sacrifices for College

Lucille's father died two years after they arrived in Los Angeles. She still weeps when she speaks of her mother, that dear, illiterate, old lady, who remained undaunted in the face of every obstacle. But she was in California now, where colored people had a chance. She would provide her daughter with an education and she, at least, could avoid these hardships.

Comment on this sketch will be welcomed by THE CRISIS. Letters should not be over 500 words

"Yes sir," the old lady used to say to herself, bending over the wash tub, "my young 'un is going' to school. She won't have to go through what her old mammy has. I'll send her to high school too and maybe to college, even ef'n I don't have everything I need to eat and wear." What did it matter if the day was long and the pay small? Some day, after her girl graduated from school, they could leave the little shack on Central avenue and move over to the Wilshire district. Her baby wasn't going to be a slave for white folks.

And so Lucille went to college. At the University of California she found a spirit of tolerance among students, either natural or assumed. Her work was fascinating and her rapid advancement left extra time for music and art. "I studied philosophy too," she said. Then added, with a smile, "I suppose it takes a philosophical mind for a university graduate to be content with a job as housemaid." But Lucille is not contented and probably never will be—would you?

"It was a great shock at first," she explained, "going from office to office, asking for a job, giving my name to office girls who had never seen the inside of a college, being refused interviews on one pretext or another. Finally I realized that they simply did not want a colored girl in the office, regardless of training. My professors used to tell me about this being a land of free competition, where one could rise according to his ability; that the world would step aside to let one pass, when he knew where he was going, and all the other time-worn adages. But—well, what's the use of my saying more; you know the rest."

Aside from the fact that Lucille has learned to appreciate the fine arts, she has a practical mind. She would make an efficient secretary if anyone should ever decide to hire her, but there is the "catch." Who will do it? The Jones & Smith Mfg. Co. will not take a chance; the *Daily Chronicle* refuses to consider her application; The Good Foods Wholesale Distributors do not want her in their offices—and neither do I.

No Doors Open

Not that I couldn't use a good secretary, for I could. Not that I dislike Lucille, either personally or because of her color. The truth is that I must overlook no opportunity to create a favorable impression with the clients who call at my office and a man of sound business judgment would no more consider a black receptionist for white clientele than he would think of posting a sign on the outer office door, "White Trade Not Solicited."

If I should be honest I would tell you that I would like to make Lucille my private secretary. But after all I must live, just as you or anyone else. Lucille's presence in my office would cause some customers to walk out, as the result of shock or sheer disgust. Others would appear to ignore her, but would never call again. A few would even whisper among themselves that she was my mistress. A still smaller number would understand, but this insignificant minority would not make me a living. So there you are. Jim Crow has been deported from California, but we still have with us Boy Cott.

I do not feel especially sympathetic toward Lucille or anyone else. I am not fighting for equality for either races or individuals. I am a practical business man and I believe in giving a fellow a break when and where he earns it, regardless of the color of his hair, eyes or skin. I am conceited enough to believe that I have advanced in business according to my capacity for thinking and managing and I would like others to have an equal opportunity.

Recently Lucille became acquainted with Steve, a graduate of Jefferson high school, who is washing automobiles for twelve dollars a week. They have been going around together quite regularly and I shouldn't be surprised if they decide to be married in another year, or when economic conditions permit. If they do, they probably will raise a litter of children and work hard and send them to College.

Sometimes, when I see Lucille's pensive expression that she has so often, I wonder what thoughts are running through her mind. And for some reason I think of a man who said, "I will study and get ready, and some day my chance will come," and I wonder if the same words, so truly spoken by an individual, may also apply to a race.

Educational Inequalities Must Go!

By Charles H. Houston

THE National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is launching an active campaign against race discrimination in public education. The campaign will reach all levels of public education from the nursery school through the university. The ultimate objective of the association is the abolition of all forms of segregation in public education, whether in the admission or activities of students, the appointment or advancement of teachers, or administrative control. The association will resist any attempt to extend segregated schools. Where possible it will attack segregation in schools. Where segregation is so firmly entrenched by law that a frontal attack cannot be made, the association will throw its immediate force toward bringing Negro schools up to an absolute equality with white schools. If the white South insists upon its separate schools, it must not squeeze the Negro schools to pay for them.

It is not the purpose or the function of the national office of the N.A.A.C.P. to force a school fight upon any community. Its function is primarily to expose the rotten conditions of segregation, to point out the evil consequences of discrimination and injustice to both Negroes and whites, and to map out ways and means by which these evils may be corrected. The decision for action rests with the local community itself. If the local community decides to act and asks the N.A.A.C.P. for aid, the N.A.A.C.P. stands ready with advice and assistance.

The N.A.A.C.P. proposes to use every legitimate means at its disposal to accomplish actual equality of educational opportunity for Negroes. A legislative program is being formulated. Court action has already begun in Maryland to compel the University of Maryland to admit a qualified Negro boy to the law school of the university. Court action is imminent in Virginia to compel the University of Virginia to admit a qualfied Negro girl in the graduate department of that university. Activity in politics will be fostered due to the political set-up of and control over public school systems. The press and the public forum will be enlisted to explain to the public the issues involved and to make both whites and Negroes realize the blight which inferior education throws over them, their children and their communities.

Here is outlined the thesis of the new attack being launched by the N.A.A.C.P. upon educational inequalities suffered by colored people in the North and in the South. The N.A.A.C.P. holds that the Negro will never be able to take his rightful place in the nation as long as he is systematically denied the educational facilities with which to equip himself, hence the renewed campaign

Linked to Other Objectives

This campaign for equality of educational opportunity is indissolubly linked with all the other major activities of the association. It ties in with the anti-lynching fight because there is no use educating boys and girls if their function in life is to be the playthings of murderous mobs. It connects up with the association's new economic program because Negro boys and girls must be provided with work opportunities commensurate with their education when they leave school. One of the greatest tragedies of the depression has been the humiliation and suffering which public authorities have inflicted upon trained Negroes, denying them employment at their trades on public works and forcing them to accept menial low-pay jobs as an alternative to starvation. Civil rights, including the right of suffrage, free speech, jury service, and equal facilities of transportation, are directly involved. The N.A.A.C.P. recognizes the fact that the discriminations which the Negro suffers in education are merely part of the general pattern of race prejudice in American life, and it knows that no attack on discrimination in education can have any far reaching effect unless it is bound to a general attack on discrimination and segregation in all phases of American life.

Specific Objectives

At the present time the N.A.A.C.P. educational program has six specific objectives for its immediate efforts:

(a) equality of school terms;

(b) equality of pay for Negro teachers having the same qualifications and doing the same work as white teachers;

(c) equality of transportation for Negro school children at public expense;

(d) equality of buildings and equipment;

(e) equality of *per capita* expenditure for education of Negroes;

(f) equality in graduate and professional training.

The first five objectives relate to segregated and separate school systems. Equality of educational opportunity in separate school systems is the greatest immediate educational problem of the Negro masses. But the problem of Negro education would not stand completely solved even if segregated schools were suddenly abolished. There would still be the question of the Negro's position in the unified system. At the present time Negro children and white children attend the same schools in the North, but Negroes suffer bitterly from prejudice in many northern schools. Negro students are frequently excluded from extra-curricular activities; they are kept out of class offices; cases are known where the white teacher has actively tried to discourage the Negro pupils from even attending the school. It is difficult for a Negro teacher to obtain placement in a nonsegregated school system; more difficult for a Negro teacher to rise to an administrative position in such a system; and apparently impossible for a Negro, regardless of merit, to become head of any public school system segregated or nonsegregated. The N.A.A.C.P. expects to fight race prejudice in nonsegregated school systems just as hard as it fights for equality in separate school systems.

The sixth objective: equality in graduate and professional training, is essentially a problem of the South. In the North Negroes are freely admitted to the state universities for graduate and professional training, except in some instances in medicine. The established policy of the South is segregated schools.

25th ANNIVERSARY

The December number of THE CRISIS will be the beginning of its twenty-sixth year of publication. The first issue of THE CRISIS appeared in November, 1910. Contributions in the form of brief letter comments or short articles will be welcome.

The United States supreme court has endorsed this policy to the extent of saying that segregated schools do not violate the guaranties of equal protection of the law under the Constitution of the United States *provided* equal facilities are offered to each race in the segregated system.

Inequalities Glaring

The South has never even made a serious effort to obey the mandate of the supreme court that the schools may be separate but they *must* be equal. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation in the fourth edition of its *Recent Trends in Race Relations* (revised May, 1935) states:

"In his excellent study, 'Financing Schools in the South in 1930,' Prof. Fred McCuistion shows that in the eleven Southern States in which separate records are kept, the public school outlay averaged $44.31 for the white and $12.57 for the colored child enrolled, or nearly four to one against the group most completely dependent upon public funds for its educational opportunity. In South Carolina the respective figures were $56.06 and $7.84; in Mississippi they were $45.34 and $5.45.

"But even these figures do not tell the worst. Within these averages there are unbelievable extremes. In Alabama, for example, where the averages for the State were $36.43 for the white child and $10.09 for the colored, there is one county in which the figures were found to be $75.50 for the white child and $1.82 for the Negro. In hundreds of counties in many of the states the proportion runs as high as ten to one, or twenty to one, in favor of the white child."

The Journal of Negro Education published by Howard University (4th Yearbook Number, July, 1935, p. 290) shows that

"in 1900 the discrimination in per capita expenditure for white and Negro children was 60 per cent in favor of the white; by 1930, this discrimination had increased to 253 per cent. Again, despite the fact that the training of Negro teachers, today, more nearly approximates that of the white teachers, the discrimination in salaries of white and Negro teachers increased from 52.8 per cent in 1900 to 113 per cent in 1930."

Ambrose Caliver, Senior Specialist in the Education of Negroes, the United States Office of Education, reports in the *National Survey of Secondary Education* that

"In the 15 states comprising this investigation, 230 counties, with a Negro population of 12½ per cent or more of the total, are without high-school facilities for colored children. These counties contain 1,397,304 colored people, 158,939 of whom are 15 to 19 years of age. These young people represent 16.5 per cent of all Negroes between the ages of 15 and 19 in the 15 Southern States represented."

Yet every one of the 230 counties provided high school facilities for its white children.

No Graduate Training

Although the southern states provide a measure of undergraduate instruction for Negroes on the college level, not one of them provides any graduate or professional training for Negroes. *The Journal of Negro Education* above cited found that

". . . there is not a single state-supported institution of higher learning in any one of 17 of the 19 states which require separation by law, to which a Negro may go to pursue graduate and professional education. On the other hand in 1930, some 11,037 white students were enrolled in publicly-supported higher institutions in 15 of these states, pursuing graduate and professional training."

West Virginia, Missouri, and this year Maryland provide certain scholarship money for their respective Negro students who desire graduate and professional training, toward their tuition fees in universities outside the state which will enroll them as students. But these scholarship grants do not include the differential in travel expense between the fare from the student's home to the state university which will not admit him, and his fare to the university outside the state which will. They do not include any differential in case of increased living expenses outside the state, and are frequently subject to conditions and restrictions not imposed upon white students taking the same work in the state university. In Maryland there was not even enough money to pay tuition fees for all the qualified Negro students who applied for scholarships.

For purely technical reasons the first problem the association attacked in court was the exclusion of qualified Negroes from graduate or professional training in state-supported universities, solely on account of race or color. The legal problem was simpler; and since much of its educational program will involve pioneer work the association began with the simpler problem first. As regards primary, secondary and collegiate education in the South, there is a system, albeit inadequate, of separate primary and secondary schools and colleges for Negroes supported from public funds. A challenge to the inadequacies of these primary, secondary schools and colleges would raise the question whether the facilities offered by them are equal to the facilities offered in similar schools to whites. This would involve complex problems of comparative budget analyses, faculty qualifications, and other facts. But in the case of the graduate or professional training there are *no* facilities whatsoever provided for Negroes by the state, and the question narrows down to a simple proposition of law: whether the state can appropriate public money for graduate and professional education for white students exclusively. The Baltimore City Court in the case of Donald Gaines Murray vs. Raymond A. Pearson, president of the University of Maryland, et al., has answered that this could not be done, and on June 25, 1935, issued its writ of mandamus commanding the officers of the university to admit Mur-

(*Continued on page* 316)

A Leaf from the Past

Miss Carrie Williams, a Negro teacher, was hired in 1892 by the board of education in Fairfax district, Tucker county, West Virginia, to teach the Negro school in Coketon. The people of the Fairfax district had voted for an eight months' school term, but the board of education decided that because there was not a large enrolment in the Negro school the Negro school should have a five months' term, and the white school eight. Miss Williams was tendered a five months' contract which she refused. The board then let her teach five months without a written contract, at the end of the fifth month demanded that she close her school for the sole reason that the Negro school term had expired. She refused, and with the cooperation of the Negro parents kept the school open the remaining three months. There was no complaint as to her services and she received her pay regularly for the first five months. At the end of the eighth month she sued the board of education for three months' back salary, and recovered.

In affirming a judgment in her favor the Supreme Court of West Virginia laid down the principle that "discrimination against the colored people because of color alone, as to privileges, immunities, and equal legal protection, is contrary to public policy and the law of the land. If any discrimination as to education should be made, it should be favorable to, and not against the colored people. . . . Counsel insist that the colored pupils having been allotted their pro rata share of the school funds, have no right to complain. The law guaranteed them eight months of school, and though it costs many times in proportion what the white schools cost, they should have had it. Money values should not be set off against moral and intellectual improvement."

Williams vs. *Board of Education of Fairfax District*, 45 W. Va. 199 (1898).

An Open Letter to Earl Browder

By George Padmore

Dear Earl Browder:

Since my resignation the American Party, the *Daily Worker* and other Party organs have been carrying on a vicious campaign of lies and slanders against me. In order to put an end to these calumnies once and for all I am forced to address this open letter to you, for as general secretary of the Party, I hold you responsible for these libelous statements.

As you know, the Communist International liquidated the Negro Trade Union Committee, of which I was secretary, in August, 1933, without giving me one word of explanation, simply in order not to offend the British Foreign Office which has been bringing pressure to bear on Soviet diplomacy because of the tremendous indignation which our work has aroused among the Negro masses in Africa, the West Indies and other colonies against British imperialism. As a protest against this base betrayal of my people I gave my resignation to the Party as the only honorable and decent thing a self-respecting man could do. A few months later, the C. I. (Communist International) came out with a cock and bull story that I had been "expelled" for a number of imaginary offenses, the chief of which is that I supported the bourgeoisie of Liberia in oppressing and exploiting the workers and peasants of that country. I say that this is a monstrous lie, and the C. I. knows it. Earl Browder, permit me to put a few questions to you:

Why did not the C. I. accuse me of this years ago, for the last article I wrote on the Liberian question was in January, 1932, when I was still *persona grata?*

Why has the C. I. never yet written an article or issued a statement criticising me until now?

Why did the C. I. refuse to discuss the liquidation of the Negro Committee and the suppression of *The Negro Worker*, of which I was also editor-in-chief?

Why did the C. I. wait from August 13, 1933 to April 16, 1934—nearly 10 months after they had closed down my work—to publish this frame-up story?

Why did it take the C. I. months after my resignation to discover my "villainy?"

Earl Browder, Negroes are not grown up children, as many whites still think; although we are still in chains we can nevertheless do a little thinking for ourselves. We want you to answer the above questions.

Mr. Browder is secretary and chief executive of the American Communist Party. In view of his assertions in August before the sessions of the Comintern in Moscow, that the American Communists had made great gains among American Negroes, Mr. Padmore's accusation of failure in this effort is interesting. Interesting, also, is Mr. Padmore's indictment of methods which he declares "we can expect when the Comintern has the power to decide the fate of the Negroes of the world"

Comintern Bluffing

Our opinion is that the C. I. is politically bankrupt. It can no longer carry on an ordinary political discussion with its own leading members, but has to resort to lies, slanders, calumnies, the frame-up method, the weapon of political assassination, in order to cover up its own treachery, duplicity, rascality and perfidy in dealing with a representative of the most oppressed and exploited section of humanity. Can the C. I. fall any lower? All this talk about "championing" and defending the Negro race is a bluff, and because I have torn away the mask, the C. I. is desperate. That is why the C. I. was not able to extend me the ordinary courtesy, the elementary democratic right which its own statutes provide, of defending myself against these false accusations. I must frankly say that this is outdoing the Nazis and the lynchocrats of Alabama. Hitler, Goering and the other hangmen of the German working class, having accused Dimitrov and his comrades of an alleged crime, nevertheless gave them a chance of exonerating themselves and of vindicating their honor before the world. The American lynchers, having decided on framing up nine innocent Negroes, have at least resorted to the gesture of a court trial. But my accusers dare not look me in the face. The C. I. dare not give me a hearing before its own supreme tribunal, the International Communist Control Commission in Moscow. But I intend nevertheless to take my day in court. The Negroes of America, of Africa, of the West Indies, of the world, will be my judges. They will know who are the liars.

I therefore challenge you, Earl Browder, general secretary of the American Communist Party, to tell them *when and where* I, George Padmore, have ever supported the bourgeoisie in oppressing and exploiting the Negro masses of Liberia. Produce *one sentence, one word*, in support of your accusations. After which I will have my say.

Now in order that you will have no excuse in taking up this challenge, permit me to put all of the available evidence at your disposal, for the Negro peoples of the world want to know the truth. This is no personal matter of the Comintern versus George Padmore; this is a fundamental political issue. For the C. I.'s treatment of me, after eight years of loyally serving the cause of the liberation of my race, is indicative of what we can expect when it has the power to decide the fate of the Negroes of the world. Earl Browder, we want you, and we demand of you, to speak out. We demand you to produce evidence in support of your accusations, for even capitalist laws protect Negroes from being slandered with impunity.

Here is the data—look it up. (1) My first article on Liberia appeared in the American Communist Review, *The Communist*, the theoretical organ of your Party, in April, 1931, entitled "American Imperialism Enslaves Liberia;" it was also published as a pamphlet by the Communist Academy of Russia. (2) *The Negro Worker*, Vol. I, November-December, 1931, page 5. "Hands Off Liberia." (3) *The Negro Worker*, January-February, 1932, page 3, "Workers Defend Liberia," and (4) the chapter on Liberia in my book, "*The Lives and Struggles of Negro Toilers.*" A complete set of *The Negro Worker*, as well as my book can be found at the 42nd Street Public Library, New York. Go to it; we await your reply.

While we are on this issue, permit me to put to you one or two more questions: Please tell us *where* and *when* the Communist International, in the fifteen years of its existence, has ever written one article on Liberia? As you know, Liberia is an economic colony of American imperialism, and as such it is the duty of American Communists to defend Liberia. Please tell us *where* and *when* your Party has ever organized a meeting or demonstration in defense of Liberia? Please tell us *where* you, as secretary of the Party, have ever written an article about Liberia? Nevertheless, you and others, have the vile impudence to slander me and every decent Negro who

(*Continued on page* 315)

Napoleon III and Pierre Laval

By Mercer Cook

Premier Laval's movements in the Ethiopian crisis are likened to the foreign policy of Napoleon III at the time of the Civil War in the United States

AT a recent meeting of an interracial group in Paris, the one Ethiopian present expressed the amazement of his compatriots at the failure of the French to espouse their cause. France, long vaunted as the champion of oppressed peoples, had been frightened into siding with Mussolini. The entire press, with the exception of the extreme Left journals, was muzzled either into discreet silence or tactit approval of the Italian offensive. Bewildered Ethiopians were obliged to turn to Great Britain for possible assistance; the France of Lafayette and Lamartine seemed dead.

It is not my purpose, nor is it necessary to go into the causes underlying this metamorphosis. Numerous commentaries have been written, one of the most pellucid of which was George Padmore's "Ethiopia in World Politics" in the May issue of THE CRISIS. There is, however, a striking parallel which remains to be drawn between the situation in which Pierre Laval now finds himself, and that of Louis-Napoleon at the time of the American Civil War.

In 1861, official France favored the Confederates. Many Frenchmen had settled in the South, and they literally bombarded Napoleon III with pleas to aid or at least to recognize the Confederacy. The official government journal, *Le Moniteur* was pro-southern. Every Union defeat was acclaimed. Confederate agents were extremely active in Paris—the Emperor received them on several occasions—publishing articles and pamphlets and influencing public officials. They argued that France needed southern cotton, just as she is now reminded of her dependence upon Italian support for security against Germany.

Like the wily Laval, Napoleon III tried to influence England. On at least two occasions he suggested that a joint request for a cessation of hostilities be made of President Lincoln. This would have compelled the latter either to accept the division of this country into two distinct republics or to continue a war in the face of French and British opposition. In the latter event, Napoleon III would have been free to recognize the Confederacy. Fortunately, Great Britain refused, and the French Emperor was obliged to drop his plan. The situation today is somewhat analogous. If Laval could secure England's approval of Mussolini's conquest, Ethiopia's plight would indeed become desperate. However, Great Britain's demand for the application of sanctions against the aggressor is forcing Laval to the same negative result that met Napoleon III.

The story of the latter's attempted establishment of an empire in Mexico under the ill-fated Maximilian continues the parallel. Through Secretary of State Seward, the United States government brought about the recall of French troops provided for Maximilian's support. And when the Mexican emperor was executed in 1867, Napoleon III, with his hands more than full at home, was powerless to help him. Liberals were attacking him with increasing vigor; Victor Hugo, in exile, had fastened upon him the contemptuous title of "Napoleon le Petit." He plunged his country into the Franco-Prussian War which was to culminate in the downfall of his own Second Empire. In 1935, even a casual observer can detect similar symptoms. Never before has contempt of her leading statesmen been so widespread in France. Politician is a term that has lost all but the most pejorative meaning.

Nor is this reflected only in the pages of the caustic journals or in conversations with the man in the street. The theater has capitalized on it. This season, the two leading music halls of the French capital, the Casino de Paris and the Folies-Bergère, presented a marionette scene and a ballet dance, both ridiculing the most prominent political figures. It is true that the American theater has also presented political satire in plays like "Of Thee I Sing," but as yet nothing as bold as the ballet scene has been attempted. When the present Premier's uninspiring visage is flashed upon the screen, French audiences frequently titter.

Criticism of the regime is general, and each change of cabinet is hailed as a final experiment. These and other conditions have indicated to Pierre Laval that all is not for the best in the best of all possible republics. Like Louis-Napoleon, he is seeing the flimsy structure of his foreign policy crumble to the dust, and is vainly trying to save the pieces. Moreover, Maximilian might well serve as a warning to Mussolini.

Future developments will reveal just how far the parallel can be stretched, and to what extent history repeats itself. At the time of the great American crisis, Cochin, Gasparin, Laboulaye (grandfather of the present French ambassador) and a host of eloquent friends of Freedom were pleading the cause of the North. Victor Hugo was attacking the South for its crime against John Brown, and ridiculing the picture this country was then offering the world of "Liberty in chains, blasphemy coming from the altar, the pillory of the Negro riveted to Washington's monument." It is unfortunate that in the France of today the only persons to voice similarly idealistic and humanitarian sentiments in favor of Ethiopia are those whose motives may perhaps be questioned.

This, however, is but a temporary state of affairs. The one great democratic country of Europe will not long accept the political and unprincipled machinations of its opportunist. There is a love of liberty and justice, a heritage of humanitarianism, too great and too deeply imbedded for him to remove. He cannot succeed where a Napoleon failed.

A CALENDAR OF EVENTS

THE CRISIS will print free each month a calendar of important national and large sectional meetings of colored people and organizations. The calendar will include the name of the organization, the dates and place of meeting. Have the national or sectional organizations with which you are identified send this information of THE CRISIS. Absolute deadline for this material is the 5th of each month. Address THE CRISIS, 69 Fifth avenue, New York.

America-South

By THOMAS D. PAWLEY

Rape!
A white woman's cry.
Nigger!
A thousand reply.
Get him!
The earth fills with sound.
Burn him!
The poor wretch is found.
Lynch him!
The Negro sighs.
Kill him!
The Negro dies.
Again the mob has won.

A Quarter Century of - - -

THE CRISIS

A Silver Anniversary Appeal

In November, 1910, a new magazine made its appearance in America, calling itself THE CRISIS: A Record of the Darker Races. It was edited by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and under his guidance was destined to become the best known monthly publication by colored people anywhere in the world.

It began with twenty small pages and in the next twenty-five years carried the news of the oppression and achievement of dark peoples to the four corners of the earth. It became the forum from which DuBois and others lashed out at injustice; and through its pages the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent its message and spread itself over the land.

THE CRISIS became the spearhead of the Twentieth Century movement to make the Emancipation Proclamation real. It fired the efforts for free education, for opportunity, for independence in politics, against discrimination and segregation. It scourged the conscience of the world on the disgrace of lynching and mob violence.

Today, at the end of its first quarter century, THE CRISIS and the association of which it is the official organ stand confronted with new tasks demanding new methods and new vigor of action. The battle is only just begun. In a sense the first twenty-five years have served merely to enable colored Americans to gain a foothold from which the intricate patterns of the real battle lines may be studied and the attacks launched effectively.

Now, more than ever, cooperation and support—both material and spiritual—are needed. Some of the campaigns from this point forward may not be as spectacular and dramatic as those from the dark days of 1910 through the post-war period, but they will be more important. Now is the time for intensive organization, careful strategy, and organized, cooperative attack upon the problems ahead.

All this costs money. A crusading magazine, a mouthpiece for a movement, costs money. The problems of the next quarter century are more difficult; the costs of campaigns will be greater, but the rewards of victory will be greater.

In the month of December, send a silver anniversary contribution to THE CRISIS. Send it off into its 26th year—to the new wars—with fresh ammunition. Give it a remembrance for 25 years of valiant fighting and a good wish for the engagements to come.

THE CRISIS

69 Fifth Avenue **New York, N. Y.**

By the year: $1.50 ***By the copy: 15 cents***

Editorials

Disturbing "Good" Race Relations

THE good white people of the state of Virginia are flabbergasted by the possibility of the N.A.A.C.P. assisting a young colored woman in her effort to enter the graduate school of the University of Virginia. Almost without exception the Virginia dailies have warned that this effort can be nothing but a "disservice to both races" and will be "disturbing to amicable race relations."

When the abolitionists preached against slavery they were disturbing amicable race relations; when the federal government gave the Negro citizenship rights in the constitutional amendments it was disturbing amicable race relations; when pioneers arose who asked liberal education for Negroes and not simply agricultural and trade work, they were disturbing the races; when the government made combat soldiers out of Negroes instead of holding them to laboring jobs, again the races were being disturbed; when labor agents went South during the war and recruited Negroes to come North and work for $5 a day instead of staying with Marse John for $5 a month, the races also were being disturbed; when the N.A.A.C.P. won its famous municipal ghetto case against the city of Louisville, Ky., in 1917 it was disturbing the good race relations; whenever Negroes ask for better schools, better streets, more playgrounds, better wages and working conditions they are disturbing the race relations. All movement against inequality are considered disturbing by those who maintain inequality—and rightly so.

We are a little disappointed in Virginia. All in all the white people who influence public opinon there are of a uniformly more liberal type than in most other southern states. We had expected that they would approach this whole matter much more philosophically than they have. The millennium is not come in Virginia and no one could expect that the public would *want* a colored student on the campus where such a one has every right to be, but cannot a less ancient excuse be found for deprecating his effort to get there?

Mr. Mitchell Joins Mr. Blease and Others

ACCORDING to the Norfolk, Va., *Ledger-Dispatch*, Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, the only colored representative in Congress, granted an interview to one of its reporters on August 31 and authorized the printed statement that "nearly everything the association (N.A.A.C.P.) does is vicious."

THE CRISIS does not deny Mr. Mitchell his right to an opinion of the N.A.A.C.P., or his right to publish it far and wide. We take a little satisfaction in pointing out, however, that Mr. Mitchell's opinion of the association is identical with that of Cole Blease of South Carolina, the late Tom Watson of Georgia, James K. Vardaman of Mississippi, Tom Heflin of Alabama, John Sharp Williams and Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi, "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina and Josiah W. Bailey of North Carolina—and the Communist Party of America.

Soviet Russia Aids Italy

OF course, close students of Soviet Russia discovered long ago that the great idealism of the so-called Communist nation was in reality hard-boiled opportunism, an opportunism as shameless as that of any nation not professing the high idealism preached from the Kremlin. Therefore it is only recording one more inconsistency and not one more surprise to set down that the Soviets are raking in good capitalist profits selling wheat and coal tar to Italy for use in the war against Ethiopia.

We have little quarrel with the Soviet pursuit of profits—even imperialist war profits. Business men are business men, whether their offices are on Red Square in Moscow or West street in New York. We do object to the pious flub-dub spouted by Communists such as: "love for the downtrodden, exploited black people," "self-determination for small nations," "fight imperialist war," "take the profits out of war," etc. They are always ranting about capitalist exploitation and robbery and drawing themselves up in their pet holier-than-thou attitude, but whenever opportunity presents itself they are in the midst of the arms and munitions races, military alliances and the garnering of profits.

All of which makes THE CRISIS continue to look with jaundiced eye upon that "Self-Determination for the Black Belt" proposal of the American Communists. They swear by all that's holy that such a plan of plain segregation is *not* segregation, but who can predict what they will say tomorrow or next week? Anyway, we maintain that the mere existence of the proposal proves that the idea of separateness is uppermost in the minds of the Red brain trust and not the idea of oneness. And in advancing this theory of separation, the Communists are hand in hand with the southern ruling class which they so delight to lambast. But since their Moscow masters are opportunists in the matter of war profits, who would dare criticise the American followers for opportunism in a little thing like race segregation? Who, indeed, except the segregated American Negro?

Huey P. Long

OF the late Senator Huey P. Long of Louisiana, Negro Americans may say that he was the only southern politician in recent decades to achieve the national spotlight without the use of racial and color hatred as campaign material.

But when this is said about Senator Long, his story, so far as Negroes are concerned, is done. It is true that he tossed a few crumbs to colored citizens of Louisiana. He did furnish free school books, open classes to fight illiteracy, build up a few public health services, and add a building or two to the colored state university. He made a gesture toward registering Negroes as to poll taxes with an eye to their voting for him in the 1936 election.

If any Negro cherishes any illusions as to what kind of fate awaited his race in the nation which Long would have bossed had he attained his ambition, he needs only look at the Louisiana which the late senator held in the palm of his hand. No jobs and no advancement for Negroes. No effective use of the ballot. No protection in the courts or from police brutality. No escape from lynching mobs. No escape from the sharecropping slavery on cotton plantations and in canebrakes. From a man who called the Chief Executive of the nation a liar, who cheered the beating of a helpless newspaper photographer by his armed guards, who did business with machine guns, who rode roughshod over all the white people in Louisiana, blackjacking their liberties from them without mercy—from such a man what could Negroes expect?

Obviously only the minimum—and that is what he told Heywood Broun several months ago the Negro would get under his plan—the minimum. It is regrettable that Long had to be stopped with an assassin's bullet, but violence, made habitual by constant use against the Negro, is a tradition in the deep South and the tradition ended Long's career.

Awaiting the Verdict of the Civilized Nations

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

A Golden Monument to Neighborliness

***Afro-American*, Baltimore, Md.**

Proposal of President Frederick Douglass Patterson of Tuskegee that the white South erect on Tuskegee campus a half-million-dollar building as an evidence of its good will has appealed to Dixie fancy.

Here and there in the press of the South, editors have acclaimed the campaign to raise the money as a landmark in interracial relations.

Gould Beech, white, Montgomery editor, declared that the building when erected will stand as a symbol of racial neighborliness on the Tuskegee campus.

Grover C. Hall, white, Montgomery *Advertiser* editor, calls the campaign a move to establish a monument that would be a constant reminder to colored youth, seeking their development at Tuskegee, that the white man of the South is not their natural enemy but their friend and well wisher.

The sum of $500,000 is a lot of money for a symbol and a monument to white neighborliness. Dixie has no Rosenwalds, or Rockefellers.

Whether white Southerners can raise it remains to be seen. That they are attempting it in a time of economic depression is significant.

Anybody who thinks, however, cannot help reminding himself and the white South that there is a lot of neighborliness he can spread without the use of monuments, and symbols costing $500,000.

It wouldn't cost anybody a dollar to take off the jim crow cars that run between Montgomery, Cheraw and Tuskegee or to pull down the "colored" and "white signs in the railroad station.

It wouldn't cost anybody a dime to repeal Alabama's primary laws designed by "neighborly" white folks to keep colored people from voting.

No generous white Southerner need expend a nickel to change Alabama jury laws to conform to the Supreme Court's ruling that colored persons must be called for jury service and serve.

It doesn't cost a penny to outlaw lynching and give colored people a square deal in the courts.

Why anybody wants to raise a half-million dollars to build a monument to and a symbol of friendliness when there are so many inexpensive ways of doing this very thing is beyond us.

The way to be friendly is to take down the "keep out" signs and substitute for them "welcome."

The way to be a good neighbor is to live beside your fellow man in peace and good will, treating him as you would wish to be treated in return.

Who is thy neighbor? A Bible story centuries old tells of the Good Samaritan.

If Dixie wants to erect monuments and symbols of interracial neighborliness, let her set apart one town or community where all men can dwell together in peace and good will. THAT would be a project more valuable than monuments built with gold.

For after all, a costly monument to neighborliness which doesn't exist isn't a monument at all; it's a colossal humbug.

Reports have it that "The Birth of a Nation," which created so much ill feeling as a silent picture, will be refilmed by David Wark Griffith and an associate producer, as a "talkie."

We all like to think that public sentiment for a more tolerant attitude toward the Negro has grown since 1915 when Griffith first made a picture of Thomas Dixon's book justifying the Ku Klux Klan in the South. There are now bans in most studios and on the radio against holding any group up to public ridicule and against the use of highly controversal story material. If these bans are lifted and Griffith is allowed to remake this photoplay then, notwithstanding the State Board of Censors for motion pictures and the efforts of Will Hays and others who would control the picture industry, little progress has been made by the Negro in getting the respect of his fellow Americans. For "The Birth of a Nation" is purely anti-Negro propaganda.—New York *Age*.

An article appearing in a popular magazine recently said Joe Louis was entitled to a chance to win the heavyweight title from the white race. The *Bystander* objects strenuously to any such statement not only because it is not correct, but has a tendency to create race friction.

A championship fight is not between the black and white fighter, but the two topnotchers in the ring and the fact that in this case one happens to be black and the other white is merely incidental.

After all the winner will be the champion of the world and not of a restricted group.—Iowa *Bystander*.

Accused of racial prejudice toward Jews and biased, harsh attitudes toward Jews' participation in any affair, the thoughtful Teutons tell the United States to look after disgraceful affairs in their own confines before attempting to guide the destinies of others.

Righteously they say, "We do not lynch each other, nor those of minority groups, neither do we tear the clothing off our women and chase them naked through the public streets," to all of which the United States can answer not one word. The eyes of the entire world, civilized or not, have been turned on America for years, horrified at the cannibalistic rites performed so frequently on helpless Negroes and, more recently, hapless whites. These United States present themselves as an easy target to all foreign countries who have a right to look askance at any criticism leveled at their persecution of unfavored people. Surely she would do well to "Come into court with clean hands."—Louisiana *Weekly*.

Somehow we cannot resist the belief that Italy is about to barter away white supremacy. Germany stands like a bloodhound unleashed in Europe. With Mussolini's legions grappling in battle in East Africa, what will be Germany's attitude towards Austria and the Balkans? Can Italy hold out for a prolonged struggle if Germany and Japan come to the financial assistance of Abyssinia while grabbing new territory in Europe and Asia? What effect would defeat of Italy have upon the millions of blacks in the Moslem world? Would the King of Kings in victory attempt to reclaim Somaliland and drive the Italians into the Gulf of Aden? Would not such a victory be the spark which might light a torch of fire to later sweep across all Africa? . . .—Oklahoma *Black Dispatch*.

Ira Aldridge

By Cyril Bruyn Andrews

Mr. Andrews is completing in London a study of the life of Ira Aldridge and sends these observations to THE CRISIS

A GREAT painter, sculptor or poet lives forever in his work. But with the stage it is different. However great the actor, however wonderful the lines he speaks, however beautiful his interpretation, his gift to the world is a moment later merely a memory. To write the biography of a Michael Angelo, and still more, to write about his work is, in a sense, an impertinence—the work is there, how much better to approach it direct and with an open mind. It is the artists of the stage, the actors and actresses and producers, who are in special need of biographers. In spite of gramophone records and cinematographs, their supreme moments pass.

To think of Ira Aldridge, it is inevitable to think of Othello, the greatest part he played and one of the finest creations of the world's greatest playwright. Ira Aldridge's acting no doubt reached its summit as he spoke the great Moor's memorable lines, but as he spoke them it was the birth and death of his achievement for a second later there was nothing left but a memory in the minds of the audience. And they, too, before long would be dead. There are a few still alive who saw him act. I had the privilege of speaking to one a few days ago, but the evening mists had gathered round her recollections, and all she remembered was the immense sincerity of his acting and the horror of those last terrible moments of Othello's life—and then the embarrassment of going a few minutes later to Ira Aldridge's dressing-room and having to murmur a few inadequate phrases of congratulations.

One of the finest lines of the last scene of Othello—"To die upon a kiss" —has, thus, for all actors a special meaning, for as they speak those lines and reach perhaps the highest peak of their careers the moment fades. Something that for a few seconds was so alive that it seemed to contain the summary of all life had come and gone never to be repeated in quite the same way, something that in a sense was so personal, so deeply buried in our human feelings that it seems almost indecent to talk about it.

Aldridge Was Othello

But to Ira Aldridge those lines, and in fact the whole of Othello, had a far greater significance and a quite different importance than to most other actors. He did not act Othello, he *was* Othello. It has been said of Tolstoi that he did not write of a young girl, he was the young girl, but in acting Othello, Ira Aldridge did not even have to work this miracle of living the part. Was he not Othello already? That direct simplicity of outlook that makes the spirituals of the coloured races a unique contribution to an over-civilized world made his acting of Othello something that was not acting at all.

The petty affairs of existence had no place in Aldridge's genius. Love was not a sniggering excrescence to be treated with a tolerant smile or an indignant protest, but a part of the great stream of life in all its manifestations tainted with Eternity. And so with death: Death was not a matter of paid undertakers and polished coffins with brass handles, but a very part of life, glorious, tragic, pathetic, according to circumstances, but never trivial, always something big which makes the greatest sorrow into a thing of strange and lasting beauty. "To die upon a kiss" was to make the first hint of the birth of a new being the very same act as its inevitable end, and so to rob both Life and Death of their separate meanings.

It is not too much to say that the acting of Ira Aldridge throws a forcible and a very important light on the whole of Shakespeare. Apart from the artificiality with which intensive study has inevitably clothed all his works, there is Shakespeare's own artificiality, which it is impossible to deny, the Elizabethan atmosphere, the blank verse, the fine poetical feeling which, however beautiful, is often essentially untrue to life. In fitting the simple Negro art of Ira Aldridge into the history of Shakespearean acting one realize more than ever that Shakespeare seldom created a once-born character, his characters were always twice-born, always thinking about themselves rather than being themselves. Those famous lines in Macbeth, "To-morrow and to-morrow" suggest to many a philosophic lament; to Ira Aldridge, no doubt, they were a cry of despair.

Brought Freshness to Role

Shakespeare's characters were always there, finely portrayed, but in such picturesque garments that their personalities became epical rather than human, and the happy marriage between the two is not always apparent. In Othello, perhaps, this marriage is as nearly perfect as possible, and it seems a little ungracious to complain of the many trappings. It is, however, not too much to say that, though Othello gave Aldridge his finest opportunities, Aldridge himself brought out the freshness of human feeling which is sometimes over-clouded by a superimposed culture.

Ira Aldridge's professional career was unique in many respects and there are abundant details of it. From the beginning his name was always at the top of the bill. At 18, he was playing leading parts in London; at 22, he was playing Othello. From 1825, when he was 18, till 1852, he was in plays all over Great Britain and Ireland; in Othello at Covent Garden; in Macbeth, The Merchant of Venice and Titus Andronicus. From 1852 to 1855 he was abroad, and after two years back in England, in Sweden in 1857 and Russia in 1858. Again there were a few years in England, and then his final tours from 1861 to 1867. This last tour, in which he met his death abroad, is one of the most remarkable theatrical feats ever known. For six years he was playing in Russia in English with a German company. Could there be a higher tribute to the simple sincerity of an actor than the transcendence of country and language in so remarkable a degree? To us it is almost unbelievable. But this is scarcely to our credit—for audiences that are able for years to enjoy a genuine artist, irrespective of nationality and language, surely deserve the highest admiration.

The appreciation of talent and genius in its truest sense is, however, increasing, and it is possible that the sincerity of the coloured races may bring a welcome breath of fresh air into a civilization too thickly coated with empty sophistication. It is probable that if our civilization collapses it will be from a crust of its own making. But there are many hopeful signs. We have to-day coloured children being taught Shakespeare, and their renderings appreciated. That Shakespeare should bring great benefit to them can only be truly achieved if it is felt that they themselves may bring some benefit to Shakespeare. It was not from any lack of reverence that Ira Aldridge brought

(*Continued on page* 318)

U. S. Department of (White) Justice

By Walter White

If one can forget momentarily the tragic elements in the incidents recited here, one cannot help but be amused at the awkward and ludicrous ducking and dodging of the august United States Department of Justice

THE Department of Justice in Washington may lay claim to a 100 per cent performance in at least one branch of its activities—the evasion of cases involving burning questions of Negro rights. It sidestepped the issue of the exclusion of Negroes from southern elections on the ground that it was loaded with political dynamite. Other legalistic reasons were later added but the first orders to "Go Slow" were placed on purely political grounds. On the lynching issue the department has set a new record for its ability to dodge from one excuse to another.

On June 6, 1933, a white girl was murdered near Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and shortly thereafter three Negro boys were thrown in jail on suspicion of the murder. On August 12, 1933, the sheriff of Tuscaloosa county unlawfully under color of authority took it upon himself to order their removal from Tuscaloosa to Birmingham "for safekeeping." The sheriff's deputies started at night for Birmingham in two automobiles: two deputies and the boys in the leading car, and a car full of deputies trailing behind. The sheriff ordered the convoy to take a back road because, as the deputies later testified, he did not want to risk the convoy being overtaken by a mob on the highway. When the convoy reached the Tuscaloosa county line, the trailing car turned back, leaving the first car with the boys in it to make the rest of the journey alone. Two miles across the county line the car with the boys in it was *met,* not overtaken, by other cars full of masked men The boys were taken out, riddled with bullets, and two of them killed. The Southern Association for the Prevention of Lynching made an investigation which found the sheriff culpable.

A delegation made up of representatives from several national organizations on August 24 called at the Department of Justice pursuant to appointment made with William Stanley, executive assistant to Attorney General Homer S. Cummings, who had promised to receive it in the absence of the attorney general, to request the department to investigate the lynching and prosecute the offending sheriff under Revised Statutes 5510 which makes it a federal offense to deprive an inhabitant of any state of any rights, privileges or immunities secured or protected by the federal Constitution under color of law or custom. But although Stanley had made the appointment himself, when the delegation arrived at the department, Stanley was not present, had sent no excuse for his absence, and investigation disclosed that he had not even entered the appointment on his calendar pad.

Recommended Amendment

The delegation was so indignant that the officials of the department four hours later carried them in to see the attorney general himself. The attorney general was suave; he would make no commitment; he called for a brief. Accordingly a thorough brief was filed with the department October 13, 1933, and Stanley stated that he would let the delegation know the decision of the department by November 1. Actually he kept the delegation in suspense until March 5, 1934, although months before both he and the attorney general had told Roger N. Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union that the department did not intend to take any action in the case.

In the meanwhile a bill amending the original Lindbergh kidnaping law of 1932 had been introduced in Congress. The 1932 act had made kidnaping a federal offense where the kidnaped person was knowingly transported in interstate or foreign commerce and "held for ransom or reward." The amendment to the 1932 act proposed to broaden the scope of federal jurisdiction and make kidnaping a federal offense when the person kidnaped was knowingly transported in interstate or foreign commerce and "held for ransom or reward *or otherwise*" (italics ours). It also proposed that there should be a prima facie presumption that the person kidnaped had been carried across the state line unless released within three days.

While the bill was before the Senate judiciary committee the attorney general submitted a memorandum to the committee in support of the amendment as follows:

"This amendment adds thereto (to the Lindbergh Act of 1932) the word 'otherwise'. . . . The object of the word 'otherwise' is to extend the jurisdiction of this act to persons who have been kidnaped and held, not only for reward *but for any other reason.*

"In addition this bill adds a proviso to the Lindbergh Act that in the absence of the return of the person kidnaped . . . during a period of three days *the presumption arises* that such person has been transported in interstate or foreign commerce, but such presumption is not conclusive.

"I believe that this is a sound amendment which will clear up border line cases, justifying federal investigation in most of such cases and assuring the validity of federal prosecution in numerous instances in which such prosecution would be questionable under the present form of this act." (Italics ours.)

In other words, at this stage the attorney general placed the Department of Justice squarely behind the amendment, giving to its provisions the broadest possible interpretation. But as soon as questions of lynching were raised, the attorney general abandoned his broad construction and began hopping from one position to another to avoid taking jurisdiction.

James Case Is Dodged

The bill passed Congress and became enacted into law June 22, 1934, with all the provisions of the amendment adopted except that the time within which a kidnaped person had to be held for presumption of an interstate transportation to arise was increased from three days to seven; and certain other changes not here material.

On October 4, 1934, one Curtis James' house was broken into near Darien, Georgia, about fifty miles from the Florida line, and James, a Negro, shot and abducted by a mob. In spite of an intensive search he was not found. After waiting more than the seven days provided by the amended Lindbergh law, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on October 15 wrote the Department of Justice asking whether the abductors of James could not be prosecuted under the amended Linbergh law. Under date of October 20 the department replied:

" . . . there is nothing to indicate that the person alleged to have been kidnaped was transported in interstate commerce and was held for ransom, reward or otherwise. In the absence of these facts establishing these elements

it would seem that the matter would be one entirely for the authorities of the State of Georgia. . . ."

It is interesting that in the James case the Department of Justice recognized that a lynching case might be covered under the words "or otherwise" of the amended Lindbergh act, but it dodged jurisdiction by repudiating the presumption. In short the department deliberately ignored the fact that not returning James within seven days created a presumption that there had been an interstate kidnaping, and thereby gave the federal government jurisdiction over the crime. It demanded that the N.A.A.C.P. substitute itself for the department's own Bureau of Investigation and produce the *facts* establishing an interstate kidnaping.

And Claude Neal Case

Then on October 26, 1934, a Negro named Claude Neal was kidnaped from the jail in Brewton, Alabama, by a mob which came to the scene in automobiles bearing Florida licenses. Neal was transported across the Alabama line into Florida, held for fifteen hours and then murdered after unspeakable barbarities near Marianna, Florida. The N.A.A.C.P. felt that at last it had a perfect case for federal prosecution, but before it could even get a letter to the Department of Justice requesting an investigation, the department had issued a public statement that the words "or otherwise" in the amended Lindbergh law did not cover the case of lynching. Faced by the indisputable fact of an interstate kidnaping, the department was forced to the position that the amended Lindbergh law covered kidnaping for purposes of gain, but not for purposes of murder.

With loud fan-fare and carefully staged publicity, on November 7, 1934, the attorney general announced to the country a National Crime Conference called by him in Washington, December 10-13, 1934, "to give broad and practical consideration to the problem of crime" including causes and prevention of crime; investigation; detection and apprehension of crime and criminals. A comprehensive and distinguished list of delegates, including bar associations, was invited; but no Negro associations. On November 9 the N.A.A.C.P. wrote the attorney general asking whether lynching would be placed on the conference agendum. On November 16 the department replied:

" . . . the program for the conference has not as yet been completed, obviously it will be impossible to cover all the phases of the crime problem in the short space of three days. No definite decision has been made with reference to the subject of lynching. I wish to thank you, however, for bringing this matter to our attention."

The crime of lynching was not even within the range of the department's vision.

No Lynching Discussion

No word came from the department concerning its decision whether to place lynching on the conference agendum, so on November 22 the N.A.A.C.P. wired the attorney general inquiring whether the decision had been made, and what. The department replied November 27 that "it was not probable that the subject of lynching will be given place on program of Crime Conference." Repeated efforts were made by local representatives of N.A.A.C.P. to see the Department of Justice in an attempt to obtain a reconsideration of the decision not to place lynching on the agendum, but the department remained unmoved.

Finally on the opening night of the conference when President Roosevelt made his key-note speech and roundly denounced lynching as one of the major crimes confronting this country, another wire was sent the attorney general asking in view of the President's pronouncement whether he would not at that date place lynching on the agendum. No reply was received the following morning, so at 12:30 P. M. that day the District of Columbia branch of the N.A.A.C.P. began to picket the Crime Conference.

The pickets were arrested almost as soon as they appeared and charged with violation of the District of Columbia sign law and parading without a permit. But that afternoon at 2:25 P. M. the branch received a telegram from the attorney general stating that although there was no room for a discussion of lynching on the formal agendum of the conference, there was a discussion period after each session and that if a discussion period were free, he hoped that the subject of lynching would be taken up on the floor. He further invited a delegation consisting of representatives of the local colored bar association to membership in the conference.

In spite of this action by the attorney general however, the chairman of the conference announced that the discussion period would be limited to the papers read on the formal agendum at the particular session. Under the circumstances the District of Columbia branch of the N.A.A.C.P. decided to resume the picketing.

On the last day of the conference, December 13, just before the morning session adjourned, about sixty pickets suddenly appeared on the sidewalk in front of the convention hall, and silently took up pre-arranged stations about ten feet apart, stretching all the way from the entrance of the hall about three squares along the street the delegates had to use in leaving the conference. To avoid the sign law which prohibited signs twelve inches or over, the pickets carried signs across their breasts eleven inches wide. Ropes were looped around their necks to symbolize lynching. To avoid the charge of parading, each picket remained silent and stationary. The police were taken completely by surprise. To add to the confusion of the police the pickets were provided with a mimeographed sheet of instructions, one of which read that if anybody bothered them they were to call on the police for protection, as the police would not arrest them if they were not violating any law, since to do so would subject the police to an action for damages. The police fumed; an attorney for the Department of Justice hurriedly left to consult the law and find grounds for arresting the pickets, but never returned. That afternoon the conference, smoked out beyond the point of endurance, adopted a completely inane and harmless resolution condemning the use of illegal means in disposing of matters arousing racial antagonisms. The attorney general held both his peace and his hand.

Finally March 12, 1935, a Negro, Ab Young, was lynched near Slayden, Mississippi, allegedly for shooting a white man. Young had been seized in Tennessee, and taken across the line into Mississippi for the ceremonies. Memphis news reporters were on hand either by accident or previous notice.

The N.A.A.C.P. telegraphed both the attorney general and the President of the United States asking for investigation and prosecution under the amended Lindbergh law. To date it is still awaiting a reply. The coroner's jury returned a verdict that Young had died at the hands of parties unknown.

The attorney general continues his offensive against crime—except crimes involving the deprivation of life and liberty and citizenship to Negroes.

Wants Back Salary

S. W. Green, who for thirty-two years was Supreme Chancellor of the Knights of Pythias, until he was defeated for reelection by one vote the last week in August, has sent the Pythians a statement calling for the payment of $16,107.57, which he claims as back salary due him. Mr. Green states that the amount is the accumulation of delinquent amounts of salary and expenses over a period of years. In his communication to T. G. Nutter, of Charleston, W. V., treasurer of the Pythians, he demands payment of the amount before September 30 and threatens to file suit if payment is not made by that date.

Battle Renewed for Civil Rights

ALONG with his fight for more employment and a fairer share of relief, the Negro is carrying on a renewed and sharper battle for his civil rights in all parts of the country. The coming of the spring and summer of 1935 signalized the initiation of new efforts toward this objective.

Bus companies have been challenged upon their usual method of seating Negroes arbitrarily in the rear seats and in those over the wheels. Out in Kansas, the colored people of Newton have filed a protest at their being barred from the new municipal swimming pool while they are being taxed to pay for swimming pool bonds. Down in Mississippi courageous citizens have drafted protests against plans for civic improvements which ignore their existence. New Jersey shore resorts have been challenged on their barring of Negroes from bathing in the Atlantic ocean. Pittsburgh, Pa., renewed again its annual battle over the use by Negroes of the Highland park pool. Philadelphia continues its long fight against theatre discrimination and chalks up a victory in one section of its fight against restaurant discrimination.

Up in Westchester county, next door north of New York City, there has been in operation for some years an elaborate county resort known as Playland, at Rye, N. Y. Playland, despite its expensive trappings, is a public resort, built and maintained by a board of commissioners of Westchester county for the public. From the very beginning it has attempted to draw the line against Negroes and has been very successful, although many protests were made. At one time it is reported that boats plying between New York City and the resort, located on Long Island Sound, would not take on colored passengers because Playland would not let them land. That is no longer true.

Westchester Suits Filed

In 1933 the N.A.A.C.P. branches in Westchester county, led by the Mt. Vernon branch, laid formal charges of discrimination before the county board of commissioners and succeeded in getting a hearing which lasted two days. A dozen or more witnesses testified and considerable agitation was stirred in the county press. At that time the resort manager was under fire on more serious charges, but the testimony of the colored citizens helped him to lose his job, which paid about $25,000 a year. Conditions improved slightly, but this summer the bars went up again, higher than ever. The result is that several suits for violation of the state civil rights act have been filed and the system of segregation has been exposed more thoroughly than ever before. As evidence that the citizens are keenly interested the court house at Rye was packed for the hearing. One action is pending with the assistance of the N.A.A.C.P., but several other cases are pending which were brought by individuals who did not seek the association's aid.

This more determined assault upon civil rights disabilities has been marked by increased effort to secure the passage of state civil rights laws or "equal rights" laws as they are more popularly known.

Such a bill failed of passage in the Indiana legislature by only eight votes. It was sponsored by Representative Henry Richardson, Jr. Under the guidance of Assemblyman J. Mercer Burrell a greatly improved New Jersey law was passed. In Pennsylvania Representatives Hopson and Sheppard succeeded in getting their bill passed and signed by the governor. It is this act, taken almost word for word from a similar statute in New York, which has raised a furor in the Keystone state.

While some colored people are insisting the bill is a "trick" one of no force and effect, the hotel and restaurant men of the state seem to think otherwise and have served notice that they intend to challenge its legality at the first opportunity. The white people were in a great dither because some sections of the daily press had led them to believe that at exactly one minute after midnight, August 31, hordes of colored people would rush into hotels, restaurants, night clubs and other places of public accommodation and demand to be served. Of course, nothing of the kind occurred. The record seems to indicate that the first mention of the new act came several days after it became a law when a young colored woman sought an ice cream soda at an ordinary drug store fountain.

At the Playland hearing, Rye, N. Y., court house

No Special Privileges

The new law was sought by colored people not to give them special privileges, but to insure their being accorded the same rights granted to others in public places. There are sections of the state and of large cities in the state where a colored person on business or pleasure may not buy a cool drink, a sandwich or a meal if he is thirsty or hungry; he may be excluded from theatres or sent to jim crow sections; he may not have access to public recreation facilities. It is for the correction of these abuses which hit the average Negro citizen so cruelly that the act was sought. In addition, the new law does bar the refusal of hotels, restaurants and dining rooms to accommodate colored people. Those who are under the necessity of demanding this service or who have the desire and the means to do so should be free to request and receive it. It will be found that such people are in a great minority.

One of the prize ironies of this race relations business for years has been the fact that in Philadelphia, the "City of Brotherly Love," the first capital of the United States government, the city of the adoption of the Constitution, the Negro citizens have been subjected to almost as many indignities as those in Tupelo, Miss., which lays no claim to brotherhood—except white brotherhood.

In order that the most intelligent use may be made of the new law, the N.A.A.C.P., in a recent conference of its state branches at Johnstown, Pa., strongly urged that colored people familiarize themselves with the provisions of the law so they would know what it guaranteed them. The following memorandum of procedure has been issued to N.A.A.C.P. branches:

1. The first point is to know the Act; know one's rights and duties as a citizen; and then so to conduct one's self so as always to remain within the limits of one's rights while forcing the opposition to place itself in the wrong.

2. When seeking public accommodation to which one is entitled under the Civil Rights Act one must act in a calm, dignified, deliberate manner, and go through all the steps outlined below if possible.

3. A witness is always desirable. If one is alone, he should seek witnesses if possible from those persons standing by. It may be slightly embarrassing to seek witnesses at the time, but it is much better to suffer this slight embarrassment than to be without proof of the discrimination when the case comes into court.

4. In seeking the accommodation one should be as definite and specific as possible, so there may be no possibility of a misunderstanding.

(*Continued on page* 317)

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Pennsylvania State Conference Meets in Johnstown

Dr. James A. Gillespie, of New Castle, Pa., was reelected president of the Pennsylvania State Conference of N.A.A.C.P. branches in Johnstown, Pa., at the close of the crowded one-day session Monday, September 9. Other officers chosen were, vice-presidents: J. Givens, Pittsburgh; R. L. Porter, B. K. Johnson, and O. B. Cobb; corresponding secretary, Anna A. Taylor; recording secretary, Mary Johnston; treasurer, Robert G. Fields; members executive committee: Mrs. H. H. Kennedy, Pittsburgh; Dr. Charles M. Colden, Aliquippa; Attorney Stevenson, Ohio Valley; and Dr. Charles Dorsey, Philadelphia.

In his annual address Dr. Gillespie called for a planned state program for next year, suggesting that the district vice-presidents call frequent meetings of branches in their territories.

Considerable discussion during the session was given to the new equal rights law which became a law in the state September 1. Charles H. Houston, special counsel of the New York office, spoke upon the law and urged the utmost care in bringing legal cases under it. He distributed a memorandum explaining the various steps to be taken in filing suit. He also distributed mimeographed copies of the law itself.

Reports of the district vice-presidents show that the branches have been active against discrimination, for the anti-lynching bill, for better relief treatment, and the securing of more jobs, and in other ways. The report of Mrs. Leftwich of Johnstown on the successful work being carried on there among juniors was one of the high points of the session.

The conference will meet next year in Media.

Jim Crow Pool

Samuel Ridley, president of the Newton, Kansas branch has filed a protest with the city commissioners because colored people are denied any use of the municipal swimming pool. In Newton there has not even been the usual attempt to confine colored people to certain hours of the day or days of the week; they have been denied the pool altogether. In his protest to the city commissioners, Mr. Ridley pointed out that colored citizens had been taxed to help pay for the swimming pool bonds and he intimated unless the bar was removed the case would be taken to the courts.

Field Meet

The Decatur, Ill., and Bloomington-Normal, Ill., branches held a field meet at Decatur, August 30, which was won by Decatur with a score of fifty points to Bloomington-Normal's forty. The idea of the field meet was developed by L. J. Winston, president of the Decatur branch. An effort was made to interest other branches, but no response was received. The dual meet was so enthusiastically greeted by both adult and younger members of both branches that it is likely to be an annual affair. The Decatur branch believes this is one of the methods which other branches ought to try in order to build up a healthy rivalry and interest young people in the work of the association.

Baltimore Campaign

Baltimore is beginning already its preparations for the entertainment of the twenty-seventh annual conference of the association next June. Beginning with the latter part of September and running for three or four weeks, a membership campaign will be conducted by Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin assisted by Miss Juanita E. Jackson and a large citizen's committee of Baltimore. The campaign is being planned enthusiastically by Baltimoreans who are pleased by the association's fight for equal educational opportunities in tax-supported institutions. The goal in the Baltimore campaign is $5,000 and with that as a beginning, the Baltimore branch plans to design the most successful conference of the association held in recent years.

Left to right: The Misses Luster Washington, Evelyn Hickman, and Florence Wilson, first, second and third winners in the popularity contest conducted by the Junior Branch of the Licking County, Newark, Ohio, N.A.A.C.P.

Branch News

The **Chicago, Ill.,** branch joined other south side organizations in calling a mass meeting August 18 to consider community problems. Other organizations in the joint effort were the Chicago Urban League, the Y.M.C.A., the Citizens Civic and Economic Welfare Council, the Y.W.C.A., the Northern District Association of Colored Women. Arthur C. MacNeal is president of the Chicago branch.

Under the direction of Irvin C. Mollison of Chicago, president of the Illinois State Conference, a new branch of the N.A.A.C.P. was formed in **Galesburg, Ill.,** Sunday, August 25, at the Second Baptist Church. R. W. Earley, president of the Advance club of Galesburg, was in charge of a picnic for the newly organized N.A.A.C.P. branch Labor Day.

The principal speaker at the **Plainfield, N. J.,** branch meeting August 25 was Assemblyman J. Mercer Burrell of Essex County, who explained his vote in favor of the state sales tax. Musical numbers were furnished by Miss L. Fredericks, and W. Fredericks, with Mrs. Elinore Sutton at the organ..

The **Johnstown, Pa.,** branch was host to the meeting of the Pennsylvania State Conference of Branches, Monday, September 9.

Roscoe Dunjee, president of the Oklahoma State Conference, was the principal speaker Sunday, August 25, at a meeting of the **Ponca City, Okla.,** branch. Music was furnished by the male quartet and the Baptist Church choir. Arrangements for the mass meeting were made by A. M. Jordan, the Rev. C. G. Griggs, Mrs. M. E. Osborne, and the Rev. J. P. Patterson.

Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, one of the field secretaries of the N.A.A.C.P., was a speaker at the **St. Clairsville, O.,** branch meeting September 8.

The **Farrell, Pa.,** branch held an outing Friday, August 30, at Cascade Park, New Castle, Pa. Other branches of the Association in the Ohio Valley took part. There was a full program of sports activities.

The **Cheyenne, Wyo.,** branch has organized a junior group with over twenty members under the leadership of Mrs. O. Turner. David N. Howell, boys' work secretary of the Glenarm Y.M.C.A., and a member of the executive committee of the Denver branch, was main speaker at a banquet in honor of the newly organized branch on Friday evening, August 30. Leading white and colored citizens, including city officials, were present at the affair. Mrs. O. R. Redd, clubwoman and leader in the state, is president of the Cheyenne branch.

The **Savannah, Ga.**, branch has formulated a protest to the citizens' committee of its town in an attempt to increase the size of the forthcoming school bond issue to take care of the needs of the Beach high school. It is asserted that the high school cannot become accredited because of lack of funds, whereas colored high schools in Thomasville, Statesboro, Brunswick, and Waycross have fully accredited colored high schools.

The **Springfield, Mass.**, branch held its opening meeting of the season Wednesday, September 4, at Olivet Community House. The Rev. E. L. Blake made a report on the annual conference held in St. Louis and outlined the new plan and program adopted at the conference.

What Is Your Branch Doing?

The writer is reminding the branches how valuable it is to have a live board of directors and a membership which is interested. Congratulations to those who are doing things. Our branch meets on the first Sunday of each month. The daily papers are liberal with their space in announcing our branch affairs. Our board of directors are the first at the monthly meeting and as a rule they take notes of the high points of discussion for their own board meetings. We open all our meetings by singing James Weldon Johnson's "Lift Every Voice." Our chairman of education is always on the job. He visits the grade and high schools and reports conditions affecting colored pupils. Young folks who are interested in music and drama always appear on our Sunday meeting program; and, in addition to this we encourage our group talent to invite their white school companions to appear in concert together. This fall and winter season we are going to have a short story contest and a typewriting contest.

MIDDLE WEST

Book Review

THAT WHICH CONCERNETH ME, by J. Harvey L. Baxter. Magic City Press, Roanoke, Virginia. $2.00.

Recently I had the pleasure of completely reading J. Harvey L. Baxter's first volume of poems, "That Which Concerneth Me." The output of poetry by Negro authors has been very scarce within the past few years. For this reason the coming of a new poetic figure should create more than a casual interest in those persons looking forward to the re-establishment of the level of poetic craftsmanship exhibited by Negro poets during the past decade.

Mr. Baxter's activities as journalist, soldier, public speaker, and business man have given him those intimate experiences out of which grow the material for poetry. As a pioneer in aiding Negro poetic expression, he founded and edited in Norfolk, Virginia, "The Praiseworthy Muse", a magazine devoted to Negro poetry. Through its channels he made a definite contribution to the Negro literary renaissance taking place at the time.

"That Which Concerneth Me" is divided into two sections; sonnets of which there are twenty-three and lyrics of which there are thirty-nine. The subject matter of the poems covers a large range. Mostly, however, the author sings of the mysteries of life, of God, of nature, and of severed love. Of the few using the Negro specifically as inspiration "Paint Me a God" and "To the Black Singer" are the best.

Throughout the poems the reader is able to catch the feeling of beauty as the author expresses a certain sense of wonderment and awe regarding the unexplained secrets of the universe never understood by man. Always, however, he is reassured by a supreme faith in God. Despite the perplexities surrounding him, the author believes man is the final arbiter of his own fate. Thus, in "It's in the Man" we hear the same ringing challenge as expressed in Henley's "Invictus." The strength of Mr. Baxter's poetry lies in individual lines or short, fragmentary snatches of song such as "Antithesis" or "Great is the Mind" rather than in complete poems of greater length. Many lines detached from the rest of the context stand forth as facets beautiful and refreshing.

It is when the poems are read in their entirety that their weaknesses are most glaring. The first such criticism concerns itself with the verse structure. In many of the sonnets the author does not follow the regular sonnet rhyme scheme thereby destroying the classical mold for which his words are intended. In the lyrics there is too constant repetition of lines of two feet. Through the regular use of this method the lyrics become too monotonous, too frequently they develop a sing-song effect, and finally they hint at a lack of maturity in expression.

Probably more noticeable than the verse structure is the faulty diction in which many of the best thoughts of the poems are placed. From the beginning there is evident much of the conventionalized poetic diction that has become hackneyed because of its constant use. Out-moded cliches as "May comes a maiden," "smiles are buds," "verdant hills," "verdant grass," "aching brow," and many stock expressions are scattered profusely throughout the volume. Frequently words are more suited for the ordinary thought of prose rather than the more elevated expression of poetry. Lines telling us how the "potent gods went broke," "jewelry is galore," "the things to cater to" fall dull on the ear and are not in harmony with the remainder of the language conveying the completed idea. In like manner a description of the sea is ruined by an atrocious simile:

Up and down
In a sprightly spree
Moves the mammoth,
Rolling sea;
Thundering from
Its frothing mouth
Like Pampas bulls
Of the torrid South

Because of the faults mentioned, Mr. Baxter's verse misses some of the essential qualities expected in excellent poetry. It is void of imagery and mood, and it lacks spontaneity and a felicity of expression. Much of it carries a matter-of-fact tone expressed in a conventional, stilted manner. This lack of poetic intensity and fire gives to the poems an ephemeral rather than a lasting quality.

Despite the limitations, the volume is worth reading. Such poems as "Oh Noble Song," "No More Your Hands," "Ask Not Again," "Wrath," and "To A Shower" capture some of the qualities absent in the volume as a whole. They suggest that the author has much within him that has not been expressed. Mr. Baxter's next volume, therefore, will undoubtedly show a more matured poetic point of view. It will be eagerly awaited by those who have discovered indications of much merit in "That Which Concerneth Me."

JAMES O. HOPSON

Serena Sings

(*Continued from page 297*)

ness of the night, came the song:

"Do you think I'll make a soldier,
Do you think I'll make a soldier,
Do you think I'll make a soldier,
Soldier of the King?"
"Rise, shine, give God the glory,
Rise, shine, give God the glory,
Rise, shine, give God the glory,
Soldier of the King?"
"Yes I think you'll make a soldier,
Yes I think you'll make a soldier,
Yes I think you'll make a soldier,
Soldier of the King?"

As the last note was finished, Alice turned to her children.

"Your father is down yonder under the beeches, alone. A good soldier never deserts a comrade in distress. Come, let us go to him."

"Every time I look up to the House of God,
The angels cry out 'Glory!'
Glory be to my God who lives on high!
To save a soul from danger!"

With the last notes of this song, Serena arose from the hickory chair. Once more she caressed the night scene with her gaze, smiling a loving, troubled smile as her eyes came to rest on the beech grove which concealed effectively any glimpse of the Marshall grounds.

"Well," she murmured, as she turned her footsteps toward her own little cottage, "I don't know if I disturbed nobody or not. But anyhow, I sho' feel powerful good myself."

New Book of Poems

A new book of poems, "Black Man's Verse," by Frank Marshall Davis, has been issued by the Black Cat Press of Chicago. Included in it are several pieces which were published originally in THE CRISIS. It will be reviewed in THE CRISIS in an early edition.

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TVA

(*Continued from page 295*)

What is even more reprehensible is the sophistic attitude of TVA officials, chief among them the so-called "liberal" Chairman Arthur Morgan, who declare that there is no rule of exclusion barring Negroes from any accommodations open to other TVA workers. This policy of no exclusion has been announced only recently in anticipation of legal suits to test the constitutionality of actions at TVA. It is by such declarations that TVA officials hope to evade their responsibility for the open and criminal extension of the policy of "Jim-Crow" housing by the federal government.

TVA Social Planning

But while the establishment of Negro ghettoes for black TVA workers and discriminations encountered by these less than 2,000 workers in the matter of skilled employment are irritants which demand immediate protest and action by Negro citizens in every section of the country, by far the most important consideration in any discussion of TVA must be the ultimate fate of the quarter of a million Negroes in the Valley under the long term social planning of the Valley Authority.

The social objectives of TVA are given in the following statement of Chairman Arthur Morgan:

"The Tennessee Valley Authority is not primarily a dam building job, a fertilizer job or a power transmission job. When I first went to see President Roosevelt, he talked about an hour about its possibilities, and there was scarcely a mention of power or fertilizer. He talked chiefly about a designed and planned economic order. That was what was first in his mind. At the time I did not realize how far flung his ideas were, because his recovery program had not been fully revealed. The country as a whole did not realize how great a change in private and national life that program would require. . . . The government has provided about five billion dollars for his emergency program. About 1 per cent as much is to be used for the TVA. With that ratio in mind, the President wanted somewhere an undertaking that was not emergency, but a deliberate social planning for the future. The TVA is an expression of that desire."

Thus if TVA is to accomplish its purpose there must be created for the entire Valley population a more abundant life, and for the Valley a planned and rational economy. Now what is the present plight of the Negro dwellers in the Valley? John P. Ferris, industrial engineer of TVA, admits that in

Rugs made by wives of TVA workers in Muscle Shoals area. Motif from Aaron Douglas

most of the rural counties in the Valley from 600 to 2,400 rural people of working age are no longer needed in agriculture or industry. A more than proportionate share of such people are Negroes. The Valley population is 76.5 per cent rural. Here again the number of rural Negroes to the total population is disproportionately high. As well Negroes in the area are especially the victims of inadequate relief, low wages, intolerable living conditions and complete lack of any type of labor organization.

It will thus be obvious that for the Negroes in the lowest income group in the Valley (and this is true also of a large segment of the white population) TVA planning must be of such a nature as to guarantee to them the possibility of economic advancement, or at least of economic survival. That so far benefit to Negro Valley dwellers has remained at most only a pious hope can readily be seen from a survey of actual facts concerning TVA planning.

No Light in the Valley

A basic concept put forward by TVA officials is that electric power may be used to remove many of the drudgeries of daily life, to effect many home and farm economies, and thus make possible a better life. It is on this basis that the policy of rural electrification was supposed to have been begun in the Valley. As first steps in putting this program into operation TVA successfully negotiated for the use of its power in Tupelo, Mississippi and Athens, Alabama. In Lee County in which Tupelo is located there are 11,225 Negroes or 31.8 per cent of the population. More than 50 per cent of the persons on relief are Negro. A rural county, a large share of the Negro population is engaged in sharecropping and tenant farming. In Tupelo the Negro population lives largely in grotesque rented slum dwellings.

For Negroes the introduction of cheaper electric rates into Lee County as result of the TVA power policy has meant nothing. Landlords, whether of Negro slum dwellers in Tupelo or of Negro tenant farmers in the rural section of the county, have not found it to their advantage to wire their Negro tenants' homes at the cost of $15 to $25, when already they are squeezing all the rent possible from these tenants.

The possibility of low income Negro groups taking advantage of electricity dwindles even more when present TVA rates for electric power and EHFA (Electric Home and Farm Authority) rates for electrical appliances are considered. According to EHFA the three electrical appliances "which are basic for the health and comfort of . . . (the) . . . family—range, water heater and refrigerator" can be purchased for as low as $5.33 per month. Electric current sufficient to generate them would cost at Tupelo (TVA) rates "only" $6.98 monthly. It is this family budget of $12.31 a month for electricity which EHFA offers to Negroes of Lee County, Mississippi under the slogan "Electricity For All." It is obvious that such rates are completely out of reach of the Negro resident of Lee County. The total sum represents more nearly his total monthly cash income than any amount which he would be able to spend for electricity. Thus so far as TVA's electrification program is concerned the Negro family is still in outer darkness.

Can Industry Be Decentralized?

Another concept emphasized by TVA planners is that of a new type of industrialization of the Valley. A decentralization of industry is conceived. In the place of mass production in highly industrialized urban centers industrial engineers of TVA have toyed with the idea of small industrial units in rural centers where the employees of such units may supplement their earnings with agricultural activity and where as well there may be developed cooperatives on a small scale.

Viewed realistically this new planning by TVA officials reveals itself to be little more than fanciful and wishful hoping. In the first place TVA can only play the role of "catalyst" in bringing about such decentralization. It cannot, therefore, control the economic forces which would tend to change the picture

drawn by enthusiasts from one of utopian existence to one of increased impoverishment of Valley dwellers.

Uncontrolled decentralization under present conditions must necessarily lead to low wage levels completely nullifying the stated social objectives of TVA. The natural backwardness of rural population, the difficulties in the way of any meaningful labor organization, the large surplus of rural labor are factors which while offering a new utopia to the sweatshop employer do little to encourage the hope that the working population, especially Negro workers, will be benefitted by such industrialization of the Valley area. In the final analysis, the industrialists and not TVA officials will control the conditions of labor and wage scale of workers in the area.

Future is Dark

In an interesting interview with Chairman Arthur Morgan last February, he took Charles Houston and me to task for what he termed was "an improper selection of facts" in the article written in the *Crisis Magazine* following our first survey of TVA in July of 1934. He expressed the feeling that much more of lasting accomplishment for Negroes could be secured by a policy of "inching along," a policy of cautious procedure so as not to raise to its highest pitch the anti-Negro sentiment in the Tennessee Valley. In publicly criticising the exclusion of Negroes from Norris, in complaining about the absence of skilled workers, in attacking the lack of training facilities, Chairman Morgan accused Mr. Houston and me of being unrealistic and, what was more serious, of possibly provoking such anti-Negro sentiment to a more determined attack against Negro advancement under the TVA program.

One must confess now that after a more thorough investigation of TVA, it seems that Chairman Morgan and not Mr. Houston and the writer, is suffering from myopia. What is the picture of TVA for the Negro? Between ten and 11 per cent have variously been employed on the Valley projects instead of the much larger percentage that are represented in the Valley relief population. This small force of between 1,000 and 2,000 men has been given work of from one to two years. Their salaries have been much lower than those paid white workers. They have been denied in almost all cases opportunities for skilled work. The payroll percentage shows a flagrant inequity between Negroes and whites. While their wages have been higher than wages outside of TVA, costs of living ($29 a month for room and board on TVA projects for single men, for example) have nullified much of the wage increase. Their standards of living have not even temporarily been much increased. They know as well that there is joblessness in the Valley for them, once the dams are through.

These men are used to segregation and to prejudice. But they are not used to it at the hands of the federal government. They are not used to having federal funds used to extend a policy of race discrimination. Nor can they appreciate it as a friendly act that not only are they herded into Negro ghettoes by Chairman Morgan and his colleagues, but as well that these ghettoes—like most—are inferior in every respect to the accommodations accorded his fellow white worker. Are the 20 squalid cottages at Wilson Dam a reasonable excuse for asking citizens not to protest "Jim-Crow" tactics of TVA?

Finally there is no glimmer of hope for the Negro population in the Valley in terms of long-run social planning. Millions of kilowatt hours of electric current will be generated at a price so high that for Negroes it might just as well be lightning in the sky. For them it means no end of drudgery, no chance for social and economic advancement. Will there be industry in the Valley? If so on what terms? What sweatshop jobs will open up for Negro serfs?

TVA must be dealt many crushing blows if Negroes are to secure any benefits under its program. We must battle in the courts relentlessly against "Jim-Crow" segregation. We must bring mass pressure to bear on the government to secure the employment of Negro skilled labor, particularly at Pickwick. We must demand a program of socialized electrification which will enable Negro workers to have some benefits from the power program. These are immediate tasks of Negroes everywhere. They offer partial solution of the problems of the Negro worker in the Valley area. They are a beginning. But at the same time we must work for the organization of labor, both Negro and white, in the area as the only sure means of gaining better economic existence for Valley dwellers.

Open Letter

(*Continued from page* 302)

is trying to do something, right or wrong, to save Liberia from being annexed and declared a protectorate of American and European imperialist powers.

I say that your campaign is nothing else but political blackmail, for which you are getting the fullest support from petty little Negroes who I know are envious and jealous of my capacities. But the world is there for them to conquer; surely I am not standing in their way.

No Progress Among Negroes

The Comintern, having got rid of me, and the American Party, faced with the tremendous upsurge and unrest among the Negro masses of the U. S., among whom it is unable to make any headway after fifteen years of its existence, are now trying to make me the scapegoat, with the hope of isolating me from the masses, by spreading all these lies and slanders about me. But thanks to the Negro press I have found a medium whereby it is possible to bring before the Negro comrades in the Party who have been misled by you, and the Negro masses of America, the real facts of the situation.

To show the villainy of you fellows, Otto Huiswood has published an article in the June issue of *The Negro Worker* saying that I have given names and addresses of Negro seamen to the police. *What seamen? What police?* Here is this little sycophant and lackey trying to outdo his Communist masters in slandering me, the one who built up an international organization of over 4,000 adherents, who made *The Negro Worker* feared by the rulers of the mighty British Empire. But Huiswood will not get away with this; I intend to take legal action against him, and if justice is not done I will know the way to avenge my honor. Earl Browder, I am through with you fellows. After the Party made me give up my legal studies at Howard university five years ago, so that I could render in a fuller way some aid to my Negro brothers in Africa, you now dare accuse me of being a police spy. I demand you and Huiswood to substantiate these charges. I have my future before me; you cannot slander me in this manner and get away with it. It grieves me to see men like James Ford and Patterson silently condoning this thing; how can these men be the leaders of my people? I can understand political differences between us, but when you accuse me of being a police agent this is going beyond all sense of decency and fair play. But I leave you in the hands of the Negro masses. From now on there can be no compromises; even the imperialists have never dared to slander me in this way. You can afford to ignore my youthful indignation; I am just thirty. After all, I may have my shortcomings—I am human—but no one has ever dared to question my honesty and integrity. Are there no decent people left in the Communist Party? You must answer the charges that you have made against me, for I shall broadcast this statement throughout the length and breadth of the black world.

Yours in defence of Justice, Truth and Honor.

GEORGE PADMORE

Education

(*Continued from page* 301)

ray into the first year class of the law school. The university has appealed, and the case will be argued before the Court of Appeals of Maryland early this fall.

Investigations are in progress covering the exclusion of qualified Negro students from the universities of Missouri, Virginia, North Carolina and other southern states. A qualified Negro girl has applied for admission to the graduate department of the University of Virginia, and her application is now pending before the Rector and Board of Visitors of the university.

"Unwise Attempt"

The reactions of the white press of Virginia to this heretical attempt of a Negro girl to enter the graduate department of the University of Virginia are indicative of the opposition which the N.A.A.C.P. will face when its general educational program gets well under way. The editors admit the young woman has the *legal right* to attend the university, but urge her and the N.A.A.C.P. not to force the issue. Sample editorials state "it is inexpedient, ill-advised, and heavily charged with potential injury to the cause which the Association is designed to advance" (Norfolk *Ledger-Dispatch*). "The question here, it seems to us, is not what the Negro has an abstract right to do, but what it is wise to attempt" (Richmond *Times-Dispatch*). "Law bears on the question from one side; custom from another" (Newport *News Daily Press*). "The question instantly arises why any educated person should wish to impose his or her presence upon an institution where they are not wanted and where they could not possibly remain in justice to their own self-respect or to their hope of achievement" (*Northern Virginia Daily*).

White Virginians evidently cannot bring themselves to admit that the University of Virginia is a public institution, and not their own private property. It *is* a public institution, so the question put by the *Northern Virginia Daily* as to whether a Negro student "is wanted" at the university is beside the point. A Negro student can preserve her self-respect much more by standing up for her constitutional rights and facing the snubs and insults of the white students with calm and dignity than by supinely yielding up her constitutional rights. Unless the white students offer her actual physical violence, they cannot snub or insult her any worse than the white men students snubbed and insulted the first white woman student who dared enter the University of Virginia.

Insults and snubs will not deter Negro students from insisting on their right to graduate and professional study. Since the daily portion of Negroes in American life is snubs and insults, regardless how submissive they are, Negro students can afford to face a few more snubs and insults temporarily in defense of their constitutional rights to equal educational opportunities, until the white students and white authorities become reconciled to allowing them to pursue their education in peace. As a matter of fact, the young southern white students have not been heard from; but there are indications that there is a growing sentiment among them for recognition of the Negro as a real human being and citizen entitled to all the legal rights and public benefits as such.

Another point that the older white Virginians make is that any attempt to force the university issue will disturb "amicable race relations" in Virginia. It seems strange that white people always use "amicable race relations" as an excuse to discourage the Negro from insisting on his rights. The slaveholders told the abolitionists the same thing before the Civil War. If the "liberal" white Virginians would just manifest a little courage, and take a few chances with their own comfort and social position in a firm stand for real equality of opportunity between the races, there would be no occasion for "amicable race relations" to be disturbed. The difficulty is that white southern liberals give lip-service to equality before the law; but except in rare instances their qualms of conscience do not spur them into action.

Cannot Surrender Rights

It may be that the white Virginians and the N.A.A.C.P. mean different things by "amicable race relations." To the N.A.A.C.P. "amicable race relations" means mutual helpfulness in promoting the common welfare allowing to everybody concerned the full benefit of the law and equality of opportunity. The test of "amicable race relations" is not whether whites and Negroes can remain friends while the Negro is at the little end of the horn, but whether they can remain friends when Negroes insist on sharing with whites the rights and advantages to which they are lawfully entitled and which the whites have illegally appropriated to themselves all these years.

The N.A.A.C.P. and all Negroes desire to live at peace with their white fellow citizens. They crave amicable race relations, but they want them founded on dignity and self-respect. Real amicable race relations cannot be purchased by the surrender of fundamental constitutional rights.

The N.A.A.C.P. appreciates the magnitude of the task ahead of it, but it has its duty to its constituency and to the America of the future. It conceives that in equalizing educational opportunities for Negroes it raises the whole standard of American citizenship, and stimulates white Americans as well as black. Fundamentally the N.A.A.C.P. is not a special pleader; it merely insists that the United States respect its own Constitution and its own laws.

(An article next month will discuss the University of Maryland case and other phases of the educational program.)

Roland Hayes Will Sing Benefit for N.A.A.C.P. November 8

Roland Hayes, the internationally known tenor, has agreed to donate approximately 500 seats in the first-and second-tier boxes at Carnegie Hall, New York City, to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

ROLAND HAYES

for his recital on November 8, 1935. These seats sell for $3.00 and $2.00 each, respectively. The entire proceeds from the sale will go to the N.A.A.C.P.

Reservations for these seats can be secured by writing the N. A. A. C. P. National Office, 69 Fifth Avenue. For the convenience of box parties, each box in both the first and second tier seats eight persons.

Mr. Hayes writes the N.A.A.C.P. that he is glad to donate these seats to the work of the Association. He completed this spring one of his most successful concert tours and spent the summer resting at his new home in Cambridge, Mass.

Civil Rights

(Continued from page 311)

Next, the money covering the ticket or other charge should be actually produced and tendered. The Act should be read or cited to the person concerned so as to make the refusal deliberate. If accommodations are denied on ground other than that of race and there are reasons to believe the reason is false, either remain as near as possible to see what disposition is made of white persons seeking accommodation behind you, or else arrange for some white or light-skinned Negro to apply.

5. If the person who refuses the accommodations is a subordinate, demand the next higher in authority. The same request for accommodation, the same tender of money, the same reading or citing the Act should be made over again to this person. If he refuses, demand the next higher in authority, and on up until the person in charge is reached and that person finally refuses the accommodations. Get the name and official position of each person, and make a note of the same; together with time and place of refusal.

6. If the management calls a policeman, instead of becoming scared one should welcome the policeman and call upon him to assist in upholding the law. Read or cite the Act to the policeman, then ask him to witness the fact of refusal. In the presence of the policeman one should make anew the same request for accommodations, the same tender of money, and the same reading or citing of the Act. If one is orderly the policeman has not right to arrest for he is supposed to be the guardian of the law. False arrest subjects him at least to a civil suit for damages.

7. If the policeman insist on removing you, state that you are not going to resist physically but that he must arrest you. That means a laying on of hands. Once more however the point is to avoid physical combat if possible, so it may be sufficient under some circumstances if the policeman makes a bullying threat. The policeman should be advised that you move only because you are afraid in the presence of superior force. The case for an assault is complete against him.

8. A policeman has no right to arrest for a violation of the Civil Rights Act committed out of his presence unless a warrant is first sworn out. A violation of the Act constitutes a misdemeanor. But he does have the right to arrest for a violation of the Act committed in his presence. Therefore after being refused accommodations in his presence, one should demand that the policeman arrest the violator. If he refuses, charges should be preferred against him.

9. As a matter of fact after being refused accommodations one should go to the police station and ask a policeman to accompany one back to the premises for protection and enforcement of the criminal law of the state. If the policeman refuses, seek his superior and continue as high up as possible; then prefer charges against the shirkers of duty.

10. One should be sure he has a perfect case which will stand up before swearing out a warrant, and should be sure that he can establish that the refusal was on account of race or color. The Civil Rights Act does not give Negroes any superior rights; it merely removes disabilities and places them on the same level and subject to the same disabilities and limitations as other citizens. Therefore in each instance try to get the ground of refusal or get proof that white citizens are being accorded accommodations at the same time, same place, and under the same conditions where Negroes are refused.

Conquest

By Juanita Cotton

The battle wages fiercest
Not when pain's embrace is tightest,
Or when beneath an avalanche
Of woes and fears I hide;
Though pain has pow'r
And fear is dread
And woes are without number,
The battle wages fiercest
When the enemy is pride.

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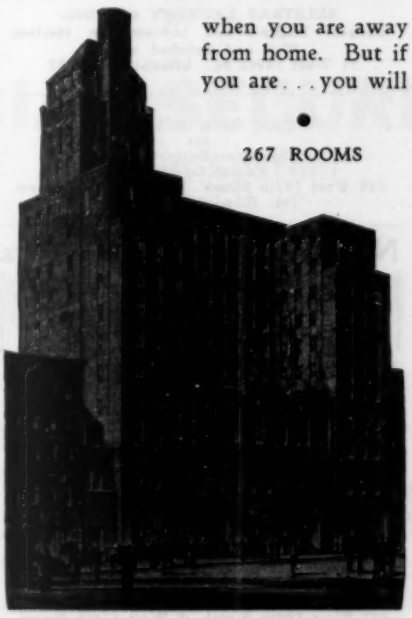

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Ira Aldridge

(*Continued from page 308*)

the light of his own character into Shakespeare, but from the true reverence that is only founded on companionship. There is a saying that to walk with God is useless if you do not walk arm in arm. Ira Aldridge walked arm in arm with Shakespeare, and this was the secret of his genius and of his success—and also of the resentment of a certain section of narrowly cultured people.

That the so-called white races have much to teach the darker people is beyond dispute, but it is also undeniably true that the coloured races have much of fundamental importance to teach their lighter brothers. If both realized what they have to give and are proud both to give and to receive, then not only will peace between them be certain, but the world's progress will be founded on the only sure foundation—the friendly inter-change of ideas and ideals amongst God's happily varied children.

Africans in London Will Aid Ethiopia

The International African Friends of Abyssinia has been organized in London "to assist by all means in their power in the maintenance of the territorial integrity and the political independence of Ethiopia." The chairman is C. L. R. James. The vice-chairman is Dr. P. McD. Milliard; the secretary, J. M. Kenyatta; and the treasurer, Amy Ashwood Garvey.

Frank Wickhem of Sioux Falls, S. D., who was elected president of the Young Democratic Clubs of America at Milwaukee in August, is a member of the Sioux Falls branch of the N.A.A.C.P.

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